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THE ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES

156

IRISH ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES

H^o H. eed. 103^m / 1



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Iohannis

PRINCIPIO

quod uerbum & uerbum
 erat apud deum & deus erat
 uerbum huiusmodi in
 pio apud deum Omnia per ipsum
 facta sunt & sine ipso factum
 est nihil quod factum est impro-
 uita est creatura quia lux ho-
 minum & lux in tenebris lu-
 ca & uisibilis & non apprehenditur
 Sicut homo missus ad eum cui non
 erat Iohannis hic uerbum

Nº 2

dar & archiepiscopus dicitur
 Corpus transiit deum in christum deum in
 anima tua in uita perpetua:

Nº 3

Diuino magistro eo quod prima interrogatio
 fuit audire dicere. Credo idem primum
 oportet est credo in Iesum Christum filium dei. credo
 in Iesum patrem credo in uita port montem
 credo me peruenire...

IRISH
ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES,

BY

SIR WILLIAM BETHAM, F.S.A.

**ULSTER KING OF ARMS OF ALL IRELAND, KEEPER OF THE RECORDS OF
THE LATE PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND, DEPUTY KEEPER
OF THE RECORDS IN BIRMINGHAM TOWER, IN HIS
MAJESTY'S CASTLE OF DUBLIN, &c. &c.**

PART I.

*"Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita, et Gallico quoque mari
opportuna. Solum cœlumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britan-
nia differunt. Melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cognita."*

TACITUS.

*"Si de veritate scandalum sumitur, utilius permittitur nasci scandalum, quam
ut veritas relinquatur."*

ST. AUGUSTINE.

DUBLIN:

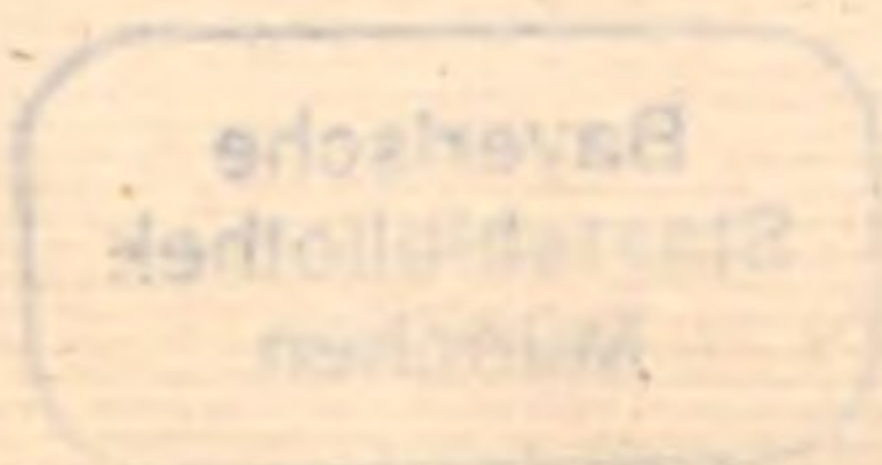
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TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
AUGUSTUS FREDERICK, K. G.
DUKE OF SUSSEX, &c. &c.

SIR,

HAVING, at the suggestion of your Royal Highness, undertaken the task of bringing before the Public an account of a curious Irish relick and MS. which I had the honour to submit to your Royal Highness's inspection, on which occasion you were pleased to express a strong feeling of interest on the subject of *Irish Antiquities*,—I have presumed to claim your Royal Highness's protection for this First Part of "THE IRISH ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES."

And have the honour to be,
With great devotion and respect,
Your Royal Highness's
Faithful and obedient humble Servant,
W. BETHAM, ULSTER.

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

AUGUSTUS RICHMOND, K. G.

Duke of Somerset, &c. &c.

Sir,

Having, at the suggestion of your Royal
Highness, undertaken the task of bringing
before the Public an account of a curious
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ERRATA :

Page 78, line 1, for *su ogradu*, read *suo gradu*
 — 176, — 8, for *give*, read *gave*.

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MÜNCHEN

IRISH

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the course of those investigations and arrangements, which my official duties have from time to time rendered necessary, I could not fail to observe, how little is known of the true history of Ireland. Notwithstanding the irreparable losses, by fire and other destructive casualties, of many ancient, valuable, and important documents, there still remain many consecutive series of rolls and other evidences sufficient to preserve the chain of history unbroken. I saw in the ancient records ample materials to enable the historian, not only to investigate the public events and elucidate the political machinery of those remote periods which succeeded the invasion of Strongbow, but also to pourtray the true state of the country as to the administration of its laws,

the character of its government, and the degree of advancement it had attained in agriculture, in commerce, and in the arts.

The best Irish History is but a meagre detail of events, chiefly military, gathered from chronicles, and preceding historians, in which errors, mistranslations, and absurdities are recapitulated and perpetuated, leaving the mines and quarries of truth, the original records of the country, and the interesting remains, which demonstrate the accuracy or falsehood of legendary history, almost entirely unexplored. Military events are the misfortunes of a country, although they may produce more immediate, and generally more decisive effects on the fate of a nation, than the gradual and peaceable march of commerce and the arts, yet, to posterity, statistics are much more useful and important, as they exhibit the effects of good or bad government, and the energies and enterprise of the people.

The state of Ireland from Strongbow's conquest to about the end of the reign of Richard II. is generally considered as a continued struggle between the conquerors and conquered, a state of perpetual warfare and anarchy, yet, among the records in Birmingham Tower, are preserved the

rolls of the pleas before the justices itinerant, who held the assizes in most parts of Ireland with the same regularity as they were held in England during that period. The records exhibit striking proofs of the rapid progress made by the first settlers, in the introduction of the laws and customs of England; even, as early as the reign of John, baronial courts were held with great regularity and precision, and the country appears to have been in a state indicating the presence of settled government. The first Edwards drew supplies of men, money, and provisions from Ireland, for their wars in Scotland and France; great quantities of wheat-flour, wheat, bran, barley, oats, *peas*, *malt*, *beer*, *salt beef*, and *salt fish*, were sent to their armies, and even *red wine* was among the supplies sent from Dublin to the king's army in Scotland,* as well as large

* In the account of John le Decer and Thomas Colys, citizens of Dublin, on the great Roll of the Pipe, it appears that they supplied the king's armies in Scotland with the following articles : ...*Flour*, 131 quarters 1 bushel; another parcel...113 crannocks; *Bran*, 115½ quarters; *Wheat*, 1,147 quarters 1 bushel; *Peas*, 8 crannocks; *Malt flour*, 1 crannock and 7 bushels; *Oats*, 501 crannocks 10 pecks; *Red Wine*, 55 hogsheads and 1 pipe; *Beer*, 55 hogsheads; and that they paid for the freight of the same £153 7s. 2d. *Great Roll of the Pipe*, 28 *Edw. I.* A.D.1229—A *crannock* was 16 bushels, or 2 quarters.

sums of money to the wardrobe and treasury of England ; great quantities of *wool* were also annually exported to the continent, on which duties were paid. The amount of the *Nova Custuma* duties paid on the exportation of wool from the 16th of April, 1278, to Michaelmas, in the same year, in all parts of Ireland, was, £2194 10s. 6½d.—and from Michaelmas, in 6th Edward I. to the feast of St. Denis, 9th of October, a period of only ten days, it amounted to £3247 0s. 2½d.* The wine imported to Ireland from the 51st of Henry III. to the 11th of Edward I. 1266 to 1282 in five ports paid for prisage no less a sum than £1798.†

* *Great Roll of the Pipe. 7th and 8th Edward I. in Birmingham Tower.*

† The account on the pipe roll of the eleventh year of Edward I. A.D. 1282 is as follows :—

Compotus Theobaldi le Botiller de Prisa Vinorum a festa Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis Henrici LI. usque ad idem festum anno regni Regis Edwardi I. undecimo.

For 191 tons of wine, imported at Waterford,	382	0	0
... 288 do. do. at Drogheda,	576	0	0
... 8 do. do. at Dungarvan,	16	0	0
... 70 do. do. at Limerick,	140	0	0
... 342 do. do. at Dublin,	684	0	0
899	£1,798	0	0

The prisage was one ton before the mast, and one behind. Two pounds on each ton of wine appears to have been paid on the above, in lieu of prisage.

The Parliaments or Legislative Assemblies of Ireland were held with equal regularity, and the ancient constitution of *land baronies* continued there unaltered, when the Barons wars, during the reigns of John and Henry III. had totally changed the constitution of the Upper House of the Legislature of England by the introduction of *personal honours*; it appears by a record that in 1366, it had not then been the law or custom of Ireland to summon any one to Parliament but those who held by baronial service.

WALTERO L'ENFAUNT MILITE DE EXONERANDO.*

REX. Thesaurario et baronibus de Scaccario sue Hibernie salutem. Supplicavit nobis, per petitionem suam justiciario, et aliis de consilio nostro, in terra nostra Hibernie, exhibitam, dilectus et fidelis noster, Walterus L'Enfaunt miles, ut cum ipse tanquam tenens per baroniam, pro eo quod non venit ad Parlamentum nostrum apud Dubliniam ultimo tentum; prout per breve nostrum summonitus fuit, graviter amerciatus extiterit, prout per quandam inquisitionem, inde ad prosecutionem ipsius Walteri, super premissis, coram prefato justiciario nostro captam est compertum; sibi amerciamentum predictum pardonare de gratia nostra dignaremur. Et quia, per prefatum justiciarium nostrum, recordatum et testificatum existit, quod per inquisitionem predictam, ad petitionem et prosecu-

* Rotulus Patens, 51, Edward III.

tionem ipsius Walteri, ut predicatur, captam est; compertum ipsum Walterum per baroniam nullatenus tenere, et non est juris seu consuetudinis in dicta terra nostra, hactenus usitate, quod aliqui, qui per baroniam non tenuerunt, ad parliamenta nostra summonere, seu occasione absencie sue ab eisdem amerciari deberent, de gratia nostra speciali pardonamus eodem Waltero amerciamentum predictum. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod demandas quas erga ipsum Walterum, ratione amerciamenti predicti, per summoniciones scaccarii predicti, in dies fieri facias, omnino supersederi, et ipsum inde erga nos totaliter exonerari, et acquietas esse facietis.

Teste, &c. apud Cork, xii. die Junii
Anno quadragesimo.

Per petitionem de Consilio.

In the early Rolls of the Pipe of Edward I. the *Nova Custuma* are stated to have been granted by the *Magnates of Ireland*, which probably included *the Commons* as well as the Lords. The account on the Roll of the 3d year of that King is headed as follows:—

*Compotus Nove Custume Dni. Regis concessa
per Magnates Hibernie &c.*

There is on the Plea Roll in Birmingham Tower of the 53d of King Henry III. 1268, the most ancient Irish Act of Parliament extant, which fully proves that the Commons had at that time a

very important share in the legislation, it is as follows:—

“ Provisum et statutum est de consilio Domini
“ R. de Ufford Capital. Justic. Hibernie et
“ aliorum fidelium Domini E.* qui sunt parte
“ de ejus consilio, *et de consensu omnium magna-*
“ *tum et totius communitatis Hibernie*, quod una
“ et eadem mensura cujuslibet generis bladi,
“ una et eadem lagena, una et eadem pondera,
“ una et eadem ulna, sint de cetero per totam Hi-
“ berniam. sicut in civitate London. constituta et
“ approbata, &c.”

By this statute, the legislature of Ireland provided for *a uniformity of weights and measures*, so early as the year 1268; no trifling indication of settled and good government.

Having carefully examined the rolls of the Pleas of the King's Courts, the Pipe Rolls, or public accounts, now among the records of Birmingham Tower, as well as most of the antient miscellaneous records in other places, and many ancient MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin, and made a genealogical and historical abstract of their contents, a task which has occupied me for nearly

* Edward I. was Lord of Ireland for some time before his father's death.

twenty years, and having had the good fortune, by purchase to acquire possession of many valuable MSS. some of which are of the nature of records, as well as having in my official custody the most antient, curious, and interesting records of Ireland, I have been induced to believe that the occasional publication of original documents, or essays on particular portions of Irish history and antiquities, would be acceptable to the public.

I have another, an irresistible motive, the undertaking was suggested to me by a Royal and Illustrious Personage, who, taking a great interest in the antiquities of the United Kingdom, lamented that so little had been done to elucidate the Antiquities of Ireland. His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, whose splendid collection of ancient Biblical MSS. is perhaps, the finest in the world, certainly of any in the possession of an individual, having expressed a wish to see the box and MS. which forms the subject of the following essay, I had the honour of laying it before His Royal Highness, who was pleased to say that an account of it *ought to be given to the public*. In obedience to this suggestion, I commence my IRISH ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES, with an account of this interesting MS. and the Box in which it has been preserved.

The state of Ireland, at the periods preceding the existence of written testimony, is only to be ascertained from the remains of art which exist upon or may be discovered below its surface. They are silent but interesting and instructive teachers. A people capable of the production of works which exist only in a state of civilization, cannot justly be declared barbarous by the verdict of posterity. The face of Ireland is covered with military earth-works and antient masonry ; massive articles of the precious metals, of exquisite workmanship, are frequently discovered by the peasantry in the bogs and elsewhere. I had, a few years since, offered me for sale by a peasant, one of those singular articles described by General Vallancey in the fourth volume of his *Collectanea*, which weighed thirty-six ounces of pure gold.* Very large and massive fibulæ, and other ornaments of silver, are of frequent occurrence, and instruments of antient brass are every day turned up by the plough and the spade.

The historians of antient Ireland are condemned for the gross absurdities that fill their pages : there is more justice than liberality in the criticism ; the early history of every nation is like my

* A kind of double bell.

Lord Peter's coat, so patched and disfigured by modern inventions and exaggerations, that it is as difficult to discover the truth of the one as the texture of the other. It is the business of the historian, and antiquary, coolly and dispassionately to examine those chronicles by the evidence which remain, to give to truth its due weight, and to fiction its just rejection—not unadvisedly to condemn the whole.

That Ireland was well known to the antients is proved by the best authorities. Dionysius, in his Geography, mentions the *two* islands of Britain, one, towards the east, called *Albion*, that towards the West *Ierne*. Ptolemy says the same. Apuleius, in his book *De Mundo*, on the authority, as he says, of Aristotle and Theophrastus, speaks of two British Isles, Albion and *Ierne*. Eratosthenes, librarian to Ptolemy Philadelphus, 250 years before the Christian era, states the distance of Ireland from Celtica or Gaul. Polybius, Ptolemy, and others, speak of the islands of Britain as the largest in the world, namely Albion and Ibernica; Strabo speaks of Ireland as scarcely habitable from its coldness. Claudius styles it *Glacialis Ierne*, icy Ireland. Julius Cæsar, in his Commentaries, describes Ireland as lying to the west of Great Britain; and Catullus calls

Britain (i. e. Ireland), the remotest island. Di-
odorus Siculus, cotemporary with Cæsar, calls
the inhabitants of Irin *Britones*, as being of the
same Celtic origin with the Britons: Plutarch
speaks in the same manner. In short all the
antient authorities agree in considering Ireland
one of the *British Islands* colonized by Celtæ.
We must therefore conclude that, as the antients
always included Ireland among the British Islands,
whatever they said respecting those islands,
generally, must apply to Ireland as well as
Britain.

Ireland is studded with the remains of churches
of the early ages of Christianity, some in very
perfect preservation. In many, the rude stone
covering points out, by its runic inscription, the
place where rest the mortal remains of the founder.
These are objects of great interest and deserve
investigation.

A high degree of civilization above their neigh-
bours has been claimed by the Irish, without
fixing the period when it existed; might not that
character be justly applicable to Ireland, shortly
after the province of Britain was overrun by the
Saxons, who were invited over about the year
449? The Irish people who had been instructed

and civilized by the introduction of Christianity from Britain, and the continued intercourse for two or three centuries with that polished Roman province, were free from the effects of the inroads of barbarians, and would be infinitely superior in refinement after that province fell under the debasing and uncivilizing power of the Saxons ; although much inferior while it continued a part of the Roman Empire, and consequently would acquire among those barbarians the reputation *of a learned and polished people*, especially as they were indebted to the Irish for instruction.

The contiguity of Ireland would naturally suggest it as an asylum, in his adversity, to the peaceable British scholar. There is every probability, also, that some of the present Irish tribes are of British origin, especially the O'Byrns of the county of Wicklow, whose name imports their origin. —It is in old writings generally spelled O'Bryn or *O'Brenagh* and *Brenagh* which is the Irish word for a *Briton* ; they occupied the country opposite the coast of Wales, and possibly emigrated at this period. That Ireland was found to be barbarous at the coming of the English, if true, is no argument against her former civilization ; the inroads of the Danes, and other northern barbarians, gave abundant cause for

such an effect, especially as these hordes had proverbially a most implacable hatred to learning. The continuance for one century of the hostile incursions of a savage people, is sufficient to barbarize the most polished nation, by compelling them to abandon the peaceful arts for those of war.

Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. I. p. 9. sec. 4. says "It is universally admitted
" that there were Christian congregations in Ire-
" land before the mission of Palladius, which took
" place in A.D. 431, of which, were there no other
" proof, the testimony of Prosper forms sufficient
" evidence, for in his chronicle of that year he says
" that Palladius was sent to the Scots *believing* in
" Christ, that is, as he informs us elsewhere, to the
" Scots living in Ireland. *But how, or by whom,*
" *the Christian faith was first introduced it is im-*
" *possible to determine.*"

Although it may be in these days impossible to produce positive evidence how, and by whom, Christianity was introduced, yet, as it is admitted that Christianity did exist in Ireland before the mission of Palladius, it is certainly desirable to throw as much light upon this most interesting subject as can be obtained by the concentration of such scattered evidences as are extant, and to

draw such inferences and conclusions as the premises, when laid down, will justify.

St. Paul himself, in the Epistle to the Romans, (c. 15. v. 24.) expressly mentions his intention of preaching the Gospel in Spain. Clement who in scripture, is called the fellow labourer of St. Paul, and was Bishop of Rome, in his epistle addressed to the Corinthians, informs us, “ That St. Paul having preached the word both in the east “ and in the *west*, acquired the fame of illustrious “ faith ; and having taught the whole world righteousness, and having come to the boundary of “ the west, suffered martyrdom under the governors.”

St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, in the second century, affirms that the apostles propagated Christianity to the *boundaries of the world*, and particularly specifies the Iberians and *Celtic* nations ; and as Ireland, unquestionably, was one of the latter, we may reasonably conclude that Irenæus included that country amongst those to whom the gospel was preached by the apostles.

Tertullian also in the second century, in his book (*Adversus Judæos*), affirms that the regions of Britain *inaccessible to the Roman arms*, were *subject to the Gospel of Christ*.

Theodoret (in 4th 2d Timothy, v. 16, 17, and p. 1, 16), affirms that St. Paul having been dismissed by Nero, on his appeal, “went into Spain, “and brought the light of his doctrine to other “nations, and to the *islands which lie in the “ocean;*” consequently to Britain and Ireland.

Venantius Fortunatus (l. 3 *De Vita Martini*), points out the British Isles as those alluded to:—

“Transiit (scil. Paul), oceanum, vel qua facit “*insulæ portum, quasque Britannis habet quas- que ultima Thule.*”

Nicephorus (lib. i. c. 1.) affirms that “one of “the apostles obtained Lybia by lot, another the “*remotest regions of the ocean and the British “Isles.*”

Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem (*Magdeburgh Cent.* 1 l. ii. c. 2.) intimates that St. Paul preached the Gospel to the Spaniards and Britons.

In the Greek records it is affirmed that Aristobulus (mentioned Rom. xvi. v. 10.) was ordained bishop by St. Paul, and sent into Britain. (*Menæis Græc. ad 15m. diem Martii.*) St. Paul mentions Aristobulus in his greetings to Timo-

thy written from Rome. He also mentions Pudens, Linus, and Claudia. The Apostolic Constitutions state (l. vii. c. 47.) that Linus was ordained the first Bishop of Rome by St. Paul; and we learn from Martial, that Claudia, wife of Pudens, mother of Linus, was a Briton; so there are grounds for believing that Britain, and even Ireland, was indebted to St. Paul for the blessings of the gospel.

Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit Peregrina Pudenti :
Macte esto tædis, ô Hymenæe, tuis.

Martial iv. Epig. 13.

Claudia cæruleis cum sit Ruffina Britannis
Edita cur Latiae pectora plebis habet !

Ibid. xi. Epig. 54.

Gildas, the British historian, who wrote about A. D. 546, says that the gospel was preached in Britain before the years 62 or 63.

Three British bishops, a presbyter and a deacon attended the Council held at Arles in France, under Constantine the Great, A. D. 314, viz. Eborius Bishop of York, Restitutus Bishop of London, and Adelphius Bishop of Colchester.

That the British church held communion with the orthodox catholic church at the time of the celebrated council of Nice, held in Bythinia, A.D. 325, is manifest from the general epistle sent forth by the emperor Constantine the Great to all the churches of the empire in communion with the Catholic Church, (*Euseb. l. 3. de Vita Constant. c. 18*). British bishops also attended the council of Sardica on the confines of Mysia and Thrace, A. D. 347. (*testibus Athan. et Hilar. and Socrates, li. i. c. 6. et li. v. c. 21.*)

British bishops attended the Arian council held at Ariminum in Italy A.D. 359, but we learn from Facundus Herminianus that they were free from the taint of the Arian heresy.

St. Chrysostom bears express testimony that the British church maintained the doctrines of Christianity handed down from the Apostolic ages, (*Oper. tom. vi. Græc. Savilian. p. 635*).

Bede informs us that the form of church government in Ireland was episcopal, and that the Scottish (Irish) hierarchy was identical with that of the British.

The account given of the introduction of Chris-

tianity into Ireland in the Irish annals, is very meagre and unsatisfactory ; but it is not inconsistent with the idea that Ireland had a knowledge of Christ long before the mission of St. Patrick.

The great anxiety of the ancient Irish for the preservation of their copies of the Holy Gospels is strikingly evinced by the religious care and veneration with which they enclosed them in cases of the most durable wood ; generally yew or oak, which soon acquired a sanctity of character as the depositories of holy writ, and were then placed in boxes of brass or copper, plated with silver richly gilt, embossed with scriptural devices, the effigies of saints and bishops, and ornamented with settings of polished chrystals, amethysts, lapis lazuli, and other gems.

Many of these evidences of early Irish piety still exist in excellent preservation : I have seen four boxes, two of which I possess ; another was given to the museum of Trinity College, Dublin, by Mr. Kavanagh, of Borres, in the county of Carlow, in whose family it was handed down from very remote ages. The late General Vallancey gave a very fantastical account of this box, which he called the *Liath Meisicith* and *Liath Fail*, or *stone of destiny* ; it contains a few membranes

of vellum, on which are written prayers for the sick, and extracts from the Scriptures.

The fourth box is called the CAAH, and came into the possession of the late Sir Neal O'Donel, Bart. on the death of the last male descendant of the branch of that ancient and princely family which followed the fortunes of King James II. It contains an ancient vellum MS. of part of the New Testament, said to have belonged to St. Columbanus, who was of the O'Donel family. On a future occasion it is my intention to give a more full description of this curious and interesting relick, with plates of the box, of the inscriptions, and, I should be well pleased to be able to add, of the MS. itself.

The CORP NUA, or *Corp naomh*, of the abbey of Tristernagh, mentioned by Sir Henry Piers in the History of Westmeath, published by the late General Vallancey, is, no doubt, a case for a MS. which it probably still contains ; the contents, being unknown, it has long, by superstitious ignorance, been looked upon as a *mere relick*, and is supposed to contain the *corp naomh*, or holy body of some saint. As these boxes became injured by time, they were repaired by driving into them long brass pins, which often perforated the MS. to

its great injury; and the aperture, where the book was inserted, being closed up, the real contents became a mystery, and were forgotten, and the most absurd and ridiculous stories promulgated respecting them, by interested individuals, or superstitious votaries.

The Rev. Dr. O'Connor, in his appendix to the first volume of the catalogue of the MSS. in the library of His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, gives an elaborate and learned account of an interesting and important MS. Irish Missal, of very ancient date, inclosed in a similar box, discovered in Germany by Mr. Grace: how it came there is not known: but Doctor O'Connor says—"We are inclined to think that it was carried to the Irish monastery of Ratisbon, by some of those Irish who carried donations thither in 1130, from Tirdelhach O'Brien, king of Munster, as stated in the *Chronicon Ratisponense*, transcribed by Stephanus Vitus, and quoted by Gratianus Lucius, and by Ward." As there is no plate representing the box, or fac-simile of the writing of the MS. it is not easy to form a correct notion of either; descriptions alone afford but a vague and confused idea.

The contents of the MS. consist of a copy of

the Gospel of St. John, and a cursus or ritual of the ancient Irish Church, which he states to be very different from that of Rome, and to contain none of the additions introduced in later ages into the latter ritual. The box which incloses the MS. is set with egg-shaped polished chrystals, and ornamented with a representation of the passion, &c. &c.

It is much to be lamented that this able essay has been printed only for *private circulation*. It diffuses the light of day on a period, hitherto, of almost perfect darkness. His Grace has certainly conferred an important benefit, by printing the catalogue of his inestimable MSS. and by presenting copies thereof to the public libraries; he would have added much to the obligation, if this admirable essay had been published for public sale, with fac-simile plates of the MS. and the box. I cannot resist giving the following long but interesting extract, it so perfectly accords with that part of the ritual contained in my MS. :—

“ The Irish church, though united, in articles of
“ revealed faith, to the church of Rome, as a centre
“ of unity, was in every other respect independent,
“ down to the year 1152. The first act of hostility

“ to that independence, was committed by the Danes
“ of Dublin; who, from deep-rooted national anti-
“ pathy to the Irish, refused to acknowledge the
“ jurisdiction of Armagh, and therefore promised
“ obedience to the see of Canterbury. This na-
“ tional quarrel first suggested to the court of
“ Rome, the facility of subduing both. But no
“ Irishman ever raised his voice in favour of this
“ subjugation, before the arrival of St. Malachy
“ O’Morgair from Rome, in 1138. A legantine com-
“ mission had been granted to Gillibert, of Limerick,
“ who wrote a book in 1090, maintaining that every
“ missal different from the Roman is schismatical;
“ but not one Irish ecclesiastic was found to support
“ him in that controversy. Perceiving, therefore,
“ that nothing could be effected by such odious
“ instruments as the Danes, the legantine commis-
“ sion was granted to St. Malachy: but whether he
“ was too much of an Irishman—or whether his
“ gentle manners disqualified him for the turbulent
“ task of altering the discipline of a whole nation;
“ though he was honoured with the pall, he resigned
“ his commission, and returned to Claravalle—too
“ happy to die in that peaceful solitude, and in the
“ arms of his excellent friend St. Bernard, A. D.
“ 1148. The task of subjugation was reserved for
“ Cardinal Paparo, and the Council of Kells, in
“ 1152. That some salutary regulations were enact-

“ ed in that synod, cannot be denied—but that it
“ entailed a foreign yoke on Ireland, which has, if
“ not solely, at least most powerfully contributed to
“ exclude the Irish from the benefits of full political
“ and religious liberty to this very day ; he who
“ cannot observe, must be disqualified from judging
“ of historical events. The advantages gained by
“ the synod of Kells, were yet found inadequate to
“ the attainment of entire success ; and the people
“ of Ireland still adhering to their popular institu-
“ tions, Pope Adrian IV. felt the necessity of issuing
“ his celebrated bull, which was transmitted to
“ Henry II. several years before the Anglo-Norman
“ invasion. The object of Alexander III.’s Bull
“ was in substance the same—‘ to enforce the acts
“ of the synod of Kells by arms, to make Ireland
“ subject to England, by papal donation, and to
“ reclaim barbarians to the principles of Christi-
“ anity.’

*“ Other differences between the Roman and Irish
Missal.”*

“ All those parts of the Roman Missal which
“ precede the seventh century, are quoted by SS.
“ Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, and others of
“ the fourth, fifth, and sixth, and agree in substance,
“ and for the most part verbally, with the same parts

“ of the Irish ; but all the improvements in the Ro-
 “ man Missal, all festivals and prayers that have
 “ been added to it since the tenth century, are want-
 “ ing in the Irish. Thus, for instance, the prayer
 “ *Deus qui humane substantiæ*, which is recited
 “ when a few drops of water are mixed with the
 “ wine, is missing in the Irish ; the ceremony itself
 “ is entirely omitted, as of human institution. The
 “ prayers which immediately follow the offertory in
 “ the Roman Missal, are also wanted in the Irish ;
 “ so is the *lavabo*, and the prayer, *suspice S. Tri-*
 “ *nitæ*, which follow it : nor are the bread and wine
 “ offered separately, but simultaneously ; and yet
 “ all these prayers are described in the Roman Mis-
 “ sal, by Micrologos—and the bread and wine are
 “ offered separately ever since.”

Of the two boxes in my possession one is the subject of consideration in the following pages, the other shall hereafter be described ; although the MS. it once contained is now wanting, yet it bears an inscription in the Irish language, to this effect, “ *Brian the son of Brian of the sea*
 “ *shore of Moy caused me to be covered, A. Dni.*
 “ *cccciii. (503) in the month of——*” I was very anxious to have included an account of it in this part of the Antiquarian Researches, but I have not had leisure to give it the consideration

its importance requires, nor was I able to have the plates prepared without deferring the publication of this part too long.

Considering the opinion of the late General Valancey on the box, presented to the Museum of Trinity College Dublin, by the late Mr. Kavanagh of Burres, as given in the essay published in the fourth volume of his *Collectanea* to be very erroneous, I requested my learned friend, Mr. Edward O'Reilly, the author of the *Irish Dictionary*, and the Secretary to the *Iberno-Celtic Society*, to give me his ideas on that subject, which he has done in the following letter, and agreeing with him in the view he has taken, with his permission, I add it to this attempt to explain the true use of these curious remains of antiquity.

“DEAR SIR,

“As you expressed a wish for my opinion on an article, in the fourth volume of the *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, on what the author of that article has called the “*LIATH MEISICITH*,” I have again read over that little tract, and now sit down to communicate to you such observations and remarks as have occurred to me on reading it.

“The box, of one side of which the learned General has given us a drawing, and which he

has denominated "*Liath Meisicith*," is evidently of the same description as those two very curious and valuable boxes now in your possession; and that in possession of the O'Donell family, a drawing of which you have given in your pedigree of that illustrious tribe. And the "loose sheets of vellum, on which are written extracts of the Gospels and prayers for the sick, in the Latin language and Irish character," which the erudite author informs us were contained in that box, are exactly similar to the book contained in one of your boxes; with this difference only, that your box contains an entire copy of the Gospels, together with prayers for the sick, and the General's box contained only extracts. The learned author further informs his readers that, in the sheets of vellum that he describes, "There are also some drawings in water colours of the apostles, not ill executed." Drawings resembling these are also in the copy of the Gospels contained in one of your boxes. Hence, from the similarity of the boxes and of their contents. I think it may be safely concluded that they were all intended by our Christian predecessors for the same purpose, namely, as cases to preserve the sacred Gospels, and to stand upon the altar during the celebration of mass and other divine offices of the church.

"The learned General further informs us, that he

was "favoured with drawings of several boxes of this kind, fabricated since Christianity, being ornamented with crucifixes," but he adds, "this has no marks of that kind, and appears to be the Druidical LIATH MEISICITH, or LIATH FAIL, in which they pretended to draw down the *Logh*, the essence of spiritual fire, and presence of Aesar (God) whenever they consulted this oracle." Here he seems to think that the absence of a crucifix on the box, is a proof that it was therefore the Liath Meisicith or Liath Fail ; and that it was an oracle, in which, when *they* consulted it, *they* pretended to draw down the *Logh*, the essence of spiritual fire and presence of Aesar (God)." We are not told who were the "*they*" that consulted this oracle ; but from its being called "The Druidical Liath Meisicith, or Liath Fail," we may conclude that by "*they*" the author meant the Druids.

"I shall not stop to enquire whether or not there were any Druids in Ireland ; but I must declare my opinion, that the General was rather hasty in forming his conclusion on this subject. The box itself, nor any of the ornaments with which it is embellished, are sufficient to justify him in giving it the appellation of "Liath Meisicith," which he says is the same as the "Liath Fail."

“ Let us inquire what is the Liath Meisicith of which the learned General says so much ? What language is its name derived from ? What Irish author ever used the word *Meisicith* ? Which of the Irish books ever mention the name ? I have no hesitation in saying that the word is not Irish ; and as I have with great attention read a great number of Irish MSS., much more, perhaps, than the erudite author had ever consulted, for the purpose of collecting words for a second edition of my Irish dictionary, I am positive that no such word as Meisicith, occurs in any of our ancient books. But the learned General says that “ Liath Meisicith ” is the same as “ Liath Fail,” by which he means I suppose, the *Lia Fail*, of which every Irishman, at least, has heard something. Now what was, or what is, for it still exists, the “ Lia Fail ? ” All our Irish historical writers, ancient and modern, tell us that it was a large stone of extraordinary virtues, brought into Ireland by the Tuatha-de-Dannann colony from Loghlinn, which in their invasion of Ireland preceded the Milesian colony from Spain. The *Leabhar Gabhala*, or Book of Invasion, contained in the book of Leacan, in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, a copy of which is also in my collection, and the *Leabhar Gabhala*, the original which is now in my possession, and which was compiled by the

O'Clery's, famous antiquaries, who were employed in the compilation of the Annals of the Four Masters, relate from the authority of several very early authors, many curious particulars respecting the Lia Fial. One of these facts is, that from the Lia Fial Ireland received its name of INNIS FAIL. For this fact, the authority of Cionaoth (Kinay) O'Hartigan is quoted thus :

“ ʒn cloč ʔon ʔttád mo ój ʔájl,
 uaiʔe ʔáʔeari Injʔ ʔájl:
 eioʔi dá tʔaiʔ tuile tʔiñ,
 ʔdaʔ ʔájl uile ʔóʔ eʔiʔiñ.”

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

From the stone on which my heels are placed,
 Ireland is named INNIS FAIL;
 Between two shores of the powerful flood
 The plain of Fail extends over Erin.”

“ Another fact is, that the monarchs of Ireland, from the time of Lughaidh (Loo-ee) Long-hand, of the Tuatha-de-Dannan race, A. M. 2764, to the time of Muirceartagh, (Murkertagh,) the son of Earca, A.D. 513, were all inaugurated on the Lia Fail, which until that period, was kept with great care at Tara, in Meath, the chief seat of the Irish monarchs. But during the reign of Muirceartagh, Fergus, his brother, having established

for himself a kingdom in Alba, or, as it has been since called, Scotland, procured from his brother the loan of the Lia Fail, that on it he might, with the greater solemnity, be inaugurated king over his new possessions. The stone was never returned to Ireland, but remained in Scotland, and each succeeding King of Scotland was crowned thereon, until Edward I. of England invaded that country, A. D. 1296, and carried off with him into his own country the Scottish Regalia, among which was the Lia Fail. From that period to the present day it has remained in England, and ever since the reign of James I., has continued to serve the purpose for which it was so long used in Ireland and Scotland; the Kings of England from his time down to the present sovereign having been crowned on it.

“There was a prophecy relating to this stone, that wherever the Lia Fail should be preserved, there a prince of Scottish, that is Irish race, should reign. Hector Boetius in his History of Scotland, quotes a distich or rann from the old poem alluding to that prophecy thus :

“Cineadh fúast, fadóir an ríne,
 Xduh buid briaig an ríardíne,
 Xdar a bfuigíod an lia fail,
 Olígíod claitear do gabáil.”

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

“The Scotie tribe, a noble race,
If the old prophecy lie not,
Wherever they find the Lia Fail,
Shall enjoy the sovereignty,”

Another extraordinary quality ascribed to this stone was, that when a prince was to be inaugurated upon it, if it was the will of heaven he should reign, the stone emitted a sound; but if on the contrary it was silent, the candidate for the sovereignty was rejected. This extraordinary story, however incredible, is told in the O'Clery's Invasions thus :—

“Ἀ καλίας τάλησσαν λίαν κάλβαϊ τεμένηα
αὖ λυγαῖο. Ἀρὶ δο γέιρεαδ πο σεῖ μῖς νο
γείβιο μῖγε ἐρεῖ ο ἀμυρην λογα λάμκαδα
κο ἡμυρην γεμε εἰρη, ἀκαρ νοῖ ἀν γεί-
ρεαυταῖν ιαποῖν πο ἀοιμημῖς ὁ ρην ἀλλέ. ὕαῖν
βα δεμένην πο γαβ ἰοῖα τοῖτ ἦτο, ἀκαρ δο
ἀρηαταταῖν κυμαῖτα γαχ ἰοῖοῖν ἦνδ ἀμ-
ρην ἡα γεμε κομδεαττα δο τῡρμεαδ ὁ
ὄς ἔδυμε.”

“From Falias came the Lia Fail that was in Tara with Lughaidh. It emitted a sound under every king that took possession of the kingdom of Ireland, from the time of Lughaidh Long-hand

to the birth of Christ, but it never afterwards emitted a sound under any king. For the demon who resided in it became dumb ; and every idol lost its power at the time of that illustrious birth, which was born of the Virgin Mary."

"I have been thus prolix in the account of the *Lia Fail*, to shew what it really was, and that you may see that neither the box described by the General, nor the "large Crystal" in "the centre of the lid," could be the *Lia Fail*, or *Liath Fail* as he calls it. As for the *Liath Meisicith*, the ancient Irish never knew any thing about it; and I am convinced the name was never thought of by any writer until it appeared in the "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis."

"Having now, as I conceive, satisfactorily shewn that the name imposed on the box by the learned author was of his own creation, and not applicable to the thing itself; I shall endeavour to demonstrate that he has mistaken the uses for which it was intended. He says "the box represents the Roman *Thuribulum*, in which the incense burnt during the sacrifice. Several drawings of these may be seen in *Montfaucon*." Now I have often looked into *Montfaucon*, and I cannot see the least resemblance between the box he treats of or those in your possession, and the Roman *Thuri-*

bulum, except that they are all of an oblong shape. The Thuribulum was open at top, the box he describes is not, neither are those in your possession, nor the one he alludes to, as mentioned by Sir Henry Piers, in his history of the county Westmeath, nor that in the possession of the O'Donel family, all of which, it is evident, were intended for the same purpose. Now the form of these, and the materials of which some of them are composed, render them unfit for the purpose of burning incense. One of your's is lined with wood, and the one described by Sir Henry Piers is "no more than a small piece of wood shaped somewhat like a bible of the smaller volume, laced about with laces of brass, and on some parts studded over on the one side with pieces of crystal all set in silver, set or chased into the wood and fastened with nails, some brass and some silver; on the other side appears a crucifix of brass." Hence it is, I think, from this and from the form of all the boxes, that the box mentioned by the learned General could never have been used for burning incense; and the figures of the crucifix which appear upon all the boxes, except the one described by the General, prove that they were not of pagan origin, and therefore that those, or any boxes of a similar kind, could not have been used by the Druids, or by any one else for burning incense, or for any other purpose

connected with paganism. But, on the contrary, from the fragments and copies of the Gospel that have been found in such of the boxes as had any thing remaining in them, it is pretty certain that were intended for cases to preserve the copies of the works of the Evangelists, and to stand on the altar as I have already mentioned.

“As for the idea of the Druids drawing down “the *Logh*, the essence, or spiritual fire, by the “*Liath Meisicith* or *Liath Fail*,” it is so laughable that I am afraid I should render myself ridiculous if I were to give it any serious attention.

“It now remains for me only to take notice of some of the Irish etymologies given by the learned author, from which he derives his “*Liath Meisicith*.” Speaking (at page 14) of the crystal stone in the centre of the box, he says, “this is the *Meisicith*,” and to the entire box he gives the title of “*Liath Meisicith*.” At page 16 he applies this latter title to the stone only, thus, “the crystal stone in the centre is named *Liath Meisicith*, or the magical stone of speculation !!!” and this name he derives from “*Liath*, that is *Lith*, a gem,” and “*Meisi*, that is *Dealbha Sithbheara*, that is *Meisi* signifies magical representations ;” and again, “*Meisi* a judge, fairies, ghosts, hobgoblins ;” and a little further on he tells us that “*Cith* is a

vision," Now in all this I am of opinion that there is much error blended with some truth. *Lith* certainly signifies a gem, but *Liath* does not. *Meisi* signifies a judge, an umpire, and it is also, by our ancient glossographers, explained by the words *Dealbha Sithbheara*, but these words cannot by any means bear the interpretation which the General gives them, in the words, "magical representations." The literal meaning of these words is, as I have given it in my dictionary, fairy, or supernatural appearances, apparitions, spirits.

"The learned author further says that "*Mais* and *Meisi* have both the same signification in Irish, viz. *Draoidheacht*, that is *Druidism*." Now this is incorrect; *Mais* and *Meisi* have not by any means the same signification, and they cannot by the most ingenious torturer of Irish words, ever be made to carry the signification of *Draoidheacht* or *Druidism*. The word *Cith* which the General says signifies "a vision," does not by any means signify a supernatural appearance, a spectre, a phantom; nor have I ever seen in any Irish manuscript the word *Cith* used to signify sight or the faculty of seeing, although I have often met the verb *Chithim*, I see.

"It would be only a waste of time to pursue this subject further. I shall therefore only add, that

the Hebrew and Chaldaic etymologies which he gives for the word Meisi, besides being far-fetched, have no more to do with the box of which he treats, than they have to do with the ark of the Covenant.

“ I am, Dear Sir,

“ With great respect,

“ Sincerely yours,

“ EDWARD O'REILLY.”

Harold's-Cross, Dec. 10, 1825.

The object of this work being solely to preserve, and put on record, as it were, *de bene esse*, evidences of the ancient history and antiquities of Ireland, I shall have much satisfaction in admitting the insertion of articles, on these subjects, by others who may also be impressed with the great advantage and importance of remains of antiquity, as the *testes temporum et veritatis*.

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DIMMA'S BOX

IRISH
ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES.

LEAHAR DHIMMA.*

CULIVAN, in his *Acta Sanctorum*, published at London in 1643, vol. I. p. 16 & 17, gives a singular account of the miraculous writing of a copy of the Evangelists, by a person named Dhimma.

He says there were many saints of that name among the ancient Irish Christians, particularly those who both flourished in the early part of the seventh century. One was bishop of Clonmac, and died about the year 608, as stated by Ware in his list of the bishops of that diocese, the other

* The Book of Dhimma.

IRISH
ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES.

LEABHAR DHIMMA.*

COLGAN, in his *Acta Sanctorum*, published at Louvain in 1645, vol. I. p. 16 & 17, gives a singular account of the miraculous writing of a copy of the Evangelists, by a person named *Dimma*.

He says there were many saints of that name among the antient Irish Christians, particularly two, who both flourished in the early part of the 7th century. One was bishop of Connor, and died about the year 658, as stated by Ware in his list of the bishops of that diocese, the other

* The Book of Dimma.

was celebrated for his *skill in penmanship*, and was of the district of *Helia*, or *Ely*, in Munster, afterwards called *Ely O'Carroll*, from its being O'Carroll's country. The latter Dimma's conversion was attributed to the miraculous power of St. Cronan, the founder of the abbey of Roscrea, which is situated in the county of Tipperary and in the country of Ely O'Carroll. Cronan died, according to Colgan and Lanigan, about the year 619, or at latest 621, and was buried in his newly founded abbey. In digging a foundation for a new church at Roscrea last summer, the covering stone of his grave was discovered, bearing this simple inscription—

CRONAN.

Colgan states, that both Dimmas were men of eminent learning and of holy lives, and quotes from an old writer of the life of Cronan, the following story:—

The blessed father Cronan requested a certain scribe to make him a copy of the *Four Evangelists*. Now this writer *was called Dimma*, and was unwilling to write for more than one day. Then, says the saint, write until the sun goes down. This the writer promised to do, and the saint placed for him a seat to write in: but by

divine grace and power, St. Cronan caused the rays of the sun to shine forty days and forty nights in that place, and neither was the writer fatigued with continual labour, nor did he feel the want of food, or drink, or sleep, but he thought the forty days and nights were but one day, and in that period the four Evangelists were indeed not so well as correctly written. Dimma having finished the book, felt day and night as before, and also, that eating, and drinking, and sleeping was necessary and agreeable as hitherto; and he was then informed by the religious men who were with St. Cronan, that he had written for the space of forty days and forty nights without darkness, whereupon they returned thanks to the power of Christ:

* *Acta Sanctorum*—Joh. Colgani, Louvain, 1645.—Tom. I. pp. 16, 17,

“ *De Sancto Dimano Episcopo, Connorensi ex diversis.* ”

“ Prænunciatur hic hujus sancti viri litterarum peritia, et vitæ sanctimonia, et utraque etiam subindicari videtur in vitâ S. Cronani Roscreensis, in qua enarratur, quod Dima scriptor peritus rogatus à Sancto Abbate Cronano, ut sibi librum scriberet Evangeliorum; spatio quadraginta dierum, quos sine noctis interpolatione, sine ulla alimonia, vel defatigatione, tanquam diem unam traduxit, librum, ut vir dei intendebat, totum transcripserit. Mirabile hoc factum meritis S. Cronani, author vitæ ejus tribuit; ego utriusque meritis, cum ambo fuerint virtutibus clari,tribuendum censeo. Ipsius vetusti authoris verba placeat audire exc. 8. Vitæ Cronani.

Such is the notable story told by Colgan, who, with honest simplicity, thought Dimma ought to share the credit of the miracle with Cronan, as both had "*act and part*," as Paddy would say, in the performance. The legend is not, however, without its use. It enables us to identify the M.S. now under consideration, and to fix the period at which it was written, with almost unerring accuracy. This circumstance is most important; as the Irish written character being nearly the same at the present day as at the earliest period, we have not those striking features which so much assist our judgment in deciding the age of an English or continental M.S.

"Beatus pater Cronanus quendam scriptorem rogavit ut sibi quatuor scriberet Evangelia; ipse jam scriptor *Dimma* vocabatur, et noluit scribere sancto nisi uno die. Et ait ei Sanctus: scribe sine cessatione, usque dum sol tibi occubuerit. Hoc scriptor promisit. Et constituit ei sanctus sedem scribendi; sed gratia S. Cronani divinaque virtute ac potentia radium solis quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus indesinenter in illo loco fecit semper esse, et nec scriptor lassus erat tanto tempore, nec tam continuo labore tædium habuit, nec desiderio cibi vel potus, sive somni gravatus est. Putabat enim tempus quadraginta dierum et noctium unum diem fuisse: et hoc tempore quatuor Evangelia, non tam bonâ, quam veraci littera scripsit, et ipso die sensit noctem et esuriem: perhibentesque ei viri religiosi cum S. Cronano, quia ipse scripserat spatio quadraginta dierum et noctium, sine obscuritate, gratias Christi potentiæ egit, et alii qui ibi erant."

Most legends are supposed to have been invented by the ingenuity, or to have proceeded from the dreams of ascetics who imagined they promoted the cause of religion by such absurdities; but this legend of Messrs. Cronan and Dimma, had its origin in the simple fact, that the said Dimma, without the aid of a miracle, wrote a copy of the four Evangelists for the aforesaid Cronan, and the MS. has, *mirabile dictu*, come down in very tolerable preservation to these our days.

He signs his name at the end of the book, "*Dimma mac Nathi*," *Dimma the son of Nathi*. He was a relation of St. Cronan, whose grandfather was also named *Nathi*. Whatever might have been Dimma's anxiety to promote religion, and he appears to have been a pious man, he expected only to do so in the usual way, by increasing the number of the copies of the holy Gospels, and spreading the knowledge of the blessed truths therein contained, for he concludes the whole with two lines of Irish poetry, in which he declares he undertook the labour for "the sanctification of souls, hoping they might acquire thereby the kingdom of heaven."

This MS. has been preserved in a brass box, richly plated with silver, which Thady O'Carroll,

chief of Ely O'Carroll, who lived about the middle of the 12th century, caused to be gilt, and Donald O'Cuanain, afterwards bishop of Killaloe, (by Ware, called O'Kennedy,) repaired about the year 1220, as will more particularly appear in the detailed description hereafter given.

The MS. and box were preserved in the abbey of Roscrea until the dissolution of monasteries, when they came into lay hands, and were at length bought by Henry Monck Mason, Esq., LL.D. M.R.I.A. from Dr. Harrison, of Nenagh, in Tipperary, and from Mr. Mason I purchased them.

Mr. Mason exhibited them some years since to the Society of Antiquaries of London, and afterwards, on the 24th of May 1819, laid them before the Royal Irish Academy, with an essay under the following title :—

“Description of a rich and ancient box containing a latin copy of the Gospels, which was found in a mountain in the county of Tipperary, and is now in the possession of Henry Monck Mason, Esq., LL.D. M.R.I.A.” The essay was read and afterwards published in the transactions of the Academy.

I feel it impossible to acquiesce in this statement although given even by so respectable an individual as Mr. Mason, but conclude that he has been imposed upon in the story of the box and MS. being found in a cave of a mountain; where it is obvious the latter could not have remained a month without decomposition, unless the same miraculous power protected as was said to have created it, I confess I should just as soon believe one as the other.*

Mr. Mason's essay is very short, and enters but little into the subject, he does not even guess at the writer of the MS. or advert to the history of the box, he gives a plate of one side of the latter, and an imperfect copy and translation of its inscription, with a few observations on some passages in the Gospel of St. Mathew, collated with certain copies of the vulgate and with MSS. of the Gospels in Trinity College,

* There is also a paragraph in Mr. Mason's essay, which requires observation; he calls the beautiful office for the visitation of the sick therein contained, *General Prayers for the Dead*. Mr. Mason is a gentleman deservedly of great black letter reputation, and will no doubt be quoted hereafter as authority; an error of so much importance, committed by such a person, is a serious evil. He did not examine this part of the book with his usual care and attention.

Dublin, enough to excite curiosity but not to satisfy it. It is but just, however, to say, that he professes to do no more than to give a cursory view, and my reason for making these observations is to justify myself in again taking up the subject.

I shall not observe on the MS. as a version of Gospels, or examine whether, as the writer of the life of St. Cronan says, "*veraci littera scripsit*," but merely consider it as an antient Irish MS. in which character it possesses great interest.* It is, perhaps, the only Irish MS. extant, of such remote antiquity, intended as a portable book for

* Mr. Mason concludes the MS. to have been written in the 9th century from the similarity of its character to the Book of Durham in the British Museum. At that time the *Irish character* had been introduced into England, and was in common use; but as it had been used in Ireland for centuries before, this similarity is not sufficient to shake the evidence I have brought forward in support of its true date. Mr. Mason will, I trust, pardon my giving the following interesting extract from his essay :—

"There is in this book a very extraordinary various reading, on which I think it necessary to enlarge. After the 48th verse of the 27th chapter of St. Mathew, the following is inserted: "*alius autem captâ lanceâ pupungit latus ejus, et exivit aqua et sanguis.*" He next proceeds, "*Jesus autem clamans, &c.*" This reading, which is to be found in four Greek MSS. in the Æthiopian version of the

the service of the priest on his external duties of visiting the sick, &c. The continental copies of the Gospels of those early ages of Christianity, are written in the large uncial character, and are of great bulk ; such is the splendid MS. commonly called the book of St. Columb Kill, which Dr. O'Connor, in his essay before alluded to, supposes to have been lost, but I have great pleasure in stating it to be safe in the library of Trinity College, Dublin ; before the dissolution of Monasteries, it was in the Abbey of Kells in the county of Meath. It is a magnificent specimen of antient

New Testament, and in the works of St. Chrysostom, does not occur in the vulgates which Sabbatier has published, or in any of the four Italic texts of Blanchini. Its history is curious as it is related by Wetstein. In the time of Pope Clement V. this additional verse was very generally received, but that pontiff, considering it to contain heretical doctrine, that our Saviour had been wounded before his death, as this text imports, condemned it at the Council of Vienna holden in the year 1311.

“The text rested indeed upon the slightest authority, existing only in four MSS. of the hundreds collated by Mill, Wetstein, and their predecessors, and in the above works alluded to. I find it in several of the most ancient vulgate copies that were written in Ireland, and exist in the College Library, as in A. 1. 5. and A. 4. 6. ; it is also in some others. Birch, asserts in his edition of the Gospels, that it is to be found in the Vatican MS. one which is surpassed by none in antiquity, and by few in importance ; but I doubt the fact, for, were it the case, it would not have escaped the knowledge and notice of Wetstein, who does not mention it.”

writing. Dimma's book has evidently been hastily written ; the first four pages are much better and smaller written than the remainder, which bear marks of haste, having been written *without lines*, a singular circumstance in an old MS. ; initial words are in the uncial character, as the beginning of the Gospel of St. John, the words, *In principio erat*. It may be asserted with confidence to be the MS. on which the legend is founded.

The box is of brass, and has been frequently repaired ; the most antient part is certainly coeval with the MS. On one side the silver plating is engraved with precisely the same ornament as the illumination in the MS. One end is open for the insertion of the book, the silver plating at the other, is divided into four compartments, of which the centre is partly lost, but appears to have been formed of four circles, as are the two compartments on either side of it ; on each of these is a lion rampant fairly chased, the outer compartments are parallelograms, the dexter charged with a lion passant, the sinister with a griffin passant. The one side has the remains of a silver plate, engraved with the ornament above alluded to, the other appears to have had an oblong entablature, the upper part of which is gone, but seems to have been charged with lions, the

feet of which are still remaining ; at the two ends of the entablature are two shields, like those before described, each charged with a lion rampant. The top* of the box has been most injured, and has been repaired by the late possessor ; there is a probability that there were on it some inscriptions, whose loss is to be regretted ; part of the old tracery silver-plating still remains, as well as a large oval piece of polished chrystal, shaped like a cuirass, an ornament found on all boxes of this description, and eight settings of lapis lazuli.

The bottom has a representation of the passion, with the two Marys, one on each side the cross, which, with the connecting silver-plates, has been richly gilt ; on the rim is the following inscription in Gothic characters :—(*See plate VI.*)

TATHEUS O'KEARBUILL BEIDEEV MEIPSUM
DEAURAVIT DOMINUS DOMNALDUS OCUA-
NAIN CONVERBIUS ULTIMO MEIPSUM RES-
TAURAVIT: TOMAS CEARD DACHORIG IN
MINSHA ✠

*“ Thady O'Carroll Boy† caused me to be
gilt—the Lord Donald O'Cuanain, the*

* It is not easy to decide which is the upper side of the box ; this term has been adopted to facilitate description.

† Yellow-haired.

coadjutor to the bishop, lastly restored me. Thomas was the artist who decorated this precious relic."

Thady O'Carroll Boy was prince of Ely about the middle of the 12th century; and Donald O'Cuanain was bishop of Killaloe, from the year 1230 to 1260. At the time he repaired the *box* he was only the *Corb*,* or *Coadjutor*, and consequently must have done it previous to the year 1230, when he became bishop of Killaloe; he is called by Ware *Donald O'Kennedy*.

If any additional evidence was wanting to identify this MS. it is supplied by its always having continued in the custody *where it ought to be found*. Thus, we find it in the 12th century receiving its gilding from Thady O'Carroll, Lord of Ely, and a farther repair from Donald, coadjutor bishop of Ely, i. e. Killaloe, before the year 1230. And even after the dissolution, it continues in the same country, until it came to Mr. Mason *from Nenagh*. Colgan says, in a note on the passage before quoted, that Dimma was of Munster, of the district of Helia.†

* Converbium.

† *Et utraque etiam subindicari videtur in vita S. Cronani Roscreensis. c. 4. hanc damus ad 28 Aprilis, & quod de*



Stene lathog Dame St

MATTHEUS .

coadjutor to the bishop, lastly restored me. Thomas was the artist who decorated this precious relic."

Thady O'Carroll Boy was prince of Ely about the middle of the 12th century; and Donald O'Cuanain was bishop of Killaloe, from the year 1230 to 1260. At the time he repaired the book he was only the *Coar.** or *Converbin*, and consequently must have died a priest in the year 1230, when he became bishop of Killaloe; he is called by Ware *Donald O'Kennedy*.

If any additional evidence was wanting to specify this MS. it is supplied by its always having continued in the custody where it ought to be found. Thus, we find it in the 12th century receiving its gilding from Thady O'Carroll, Lord of Ely, and a farther repair from Donald, coadjutor bishop of Ely, i. e. Killaloe, before the year 1230. And even after the dissolution, it continued in the same country, until it came to Mr. Maser from Nenagh. Colgan says, in a note on the passage before quoted, that Dimma was of Munster, of the district of Helia.†

* *Converbin*.

† *Et utraque etiam subindicari videtur in vita S. Cronan Senecensis. c. 4. hanc datus ad 28 Aprilis, & quod de*



Mens Lithog Dame S^t

MATTHEUS .

This MS. is of the small quarto size, is seven inches high, and five and a half broad; it contains seventy-four membranes, of which St. Matthew's Gospel occupies fourteen and a half, St. Mark's eleven and a half, St. Luke's twenty-three and a half, the Office for the Visitation of the Sick two, and the Gospel of St. John twenty-two and a half.

There are effigies of the three first Evangelists, at the beginning of their respective gospels; (see plates I. II. III.) and at the beginning of that of St. John, is the representation of an eagle, the emblem associated with that Evangelist, it is singular in its formation.—(Plate IV.)

At the end of the gospel of St. Matthew is this inscription:—Finit, Ομοστ δο διμμα ποδρσνιβ
ππο δομ αζυρ βιν ———

Pray for Dimma who wrote this book, and for

præsenti Dima in ea videatur fieri mentio, ex pluribus fundamentis opinor primo, quia ambo floruerunt eodem tempore, circa anno 620. Secundo etiam in regionibus confinibus Mediæ et Helia, adde quod S. Dimanus fuerit ex ipsa Momonia cujus pars est Helia. Tertio, singularis peritiæ & sapientiæ laus quæ adscribitur S. Dimano, affinis est arti bene scribendi, quæ S. Dimano in vita S. Cronani adscribitur.—*Acta Sanct. Tom. I. 17.*

_____ The last word I have not been able to make out.

At the end of the gospel of St. Mark:—Finit, amen, deo gratias ago.—Ομοις δο διμμα.—*Pray for Dimma.*

At the end of the gospel of St. Luke:—Finit, amen, deo gratias ago,—Ομοις δο διμμαη διρτου διαπορτυβηδ ης ιβερ αγυρ δο ανμυ ιη ρτυβηνοηη.—Αmen.—*Pray for Dimman, of Dissidu, for whom this book was written, and for the soul of the writer.—Amen.*

* This translation my friend, Mr. Edward O'Reilly, has corrected from the following:—" *Pray for Dimman of Dissidu, who wrote this book, and that his soul may rest in happiness,*" although it now militates against the idea that the book was written for St. Cronan, yet, as there can be no doubt of the writer, it is still sufficient for all historical purposes. Dimma was a scribe of eminence, and wrote many books; the Dimman of Dissidu, for whom this was written, was possibly the bishop of Conor, who flourished at the same time. My object is to elucidate truth, not to establish any particular hypothesis.

maney

II



MARCUS.

maney

II



Allen's Lithog. Dame St.

M A R C U S .

Then follows the office for the Visitation of the Sick, the most valuable part of this most singularly curious and interesting MS.

VISITATIO INFIRMORUM.

“Oremus fratres dominum deum nostrum pro fratre nostro N. quem duri ad præsens malum langoris adulcerat quem eum domini pietas cælestibus dignetur curare medicinis qui dedit animam det etiam salutem. per dominum nostrum.

“Deum vivum omnipotentem cui omnia opera restaurare confirmare facillimum est fratres carissimi pro fratre nostro infirmo suppliciter oremus quo creatura manum sentiat creatoris aut in repudiando aut in recipiendo in nomine suo pius per opus suum recreare dignetur. per dominum nostrum.

“Domine sancte pater universitatis auctor omnipotens æternæ deus cui cuncta vivunt qui vivificas mortuos et vocas ea quæ non sunt tanquam ea quæ sunt. Tuum solitum opus qui es artifex pie exerce in hoc plasmate tuo. per dominum.

“Deum in cujus manu tam aliori viventis quia* vita morientis fratres dilectissimi deprecemur

* Sic originale.

quod corporis hujus infirmitatem sanet etiam animæ salutem præstet quod quod per meritum non meretur misericordiæ gratia consequatur orantibus nobis. per dominum.

“Deus qui non vis mortem peccatoris sed quod convertatur etiam vivat huic ad te ex corde converso peccata dimitte et perennis vitæ tribue gratiam. per dominum.

“Deus qui facturam tuam pio semper donares affectu inclina aurem tuam supplicantibus nobis tibi ad famulum tuum. N. adversitate valitudinis corporis laborantem placitori respice. Visita eum in salutare tuo etiam cælestis gratiæ ad medicamentum. per dominum.

“Si in hac vita tantum, in Christo sperantes sumus: miserabiliores sumus omnibus hominibus. Nunc autem Christus resurrexit a mortuis primitiæ dormientium, quoniam quidem per hominem mors: et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum. Et sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur: ita in Christo omnes vivificabuntur.*

“In illo die accesserunt ad eum Sadducei, qui dicunt non esse resurrectionem: et interrogaverunt

* Epist. I. Cor. xv. 19.



Radice pet

et pauli

LUCAS

...animo
...non
...stantibus

...per dominum.

* Deus qui facit omnia per se ipsum
...ad famulatus filios ...
...gratias ...

...Christo operante
...omnibus hominibus
...resurrexit a mortuis
...per modum
...mortuorum
...Christi

* In illo die dicentibus ad eum Sadducei, qui
dicunt non esse resurrectionem: et interrogaverunt

* Mat. 23. 35. 36.
Luc. 11. 31. 32.



Alens Lithog. Dames

LUCAS

eum. Respondens autem Jesus ait illis : erratis, nescientes scripturas, neque virtutem dei. In resurrectione enim neque nubent, neque nubentur : sed erunt sicut angeli in cœlo. De resurrectione autem mortuorum non legistis quod dictum est, a deo, dicente vobis : Ego sum deus Abraam, deus Isaac, deus Jacob, non deus mortuorum sed viventium. Audientes turbæ admirabantur in doctrinam ejus.*

“ Divino magisterio edocti etiam divina institutione firmati audemus dicere. Credo in Deum patrem omnipotentem. Credo etiam in Jesum Christum filium ejus. Credo et in spiritum sanctum. Credo (in) vitam post mortem. Credo me resurgere.†

“ Ungo te de oleo sanctificato in nomine trinitatis, quod salveris in sæcula sæculorum.

“ Concede nobis famulis tuis quod orantes cum fiducia dicere mereamur Pater noster :—

“ *Infirmus canit si potest si non persona ejus canit sacerdos.*

* Matt. xxii. 23—29—33.

† For fac simile of this passage, see plate V. 3.

“Agnosce domine verba quæ præcipisti. Ignosce presumptione quia imperasti ignorantia est nobis non agnoscere meritum contumacie non servare pæceptum quo jubemur dicere pater noster :—

“Libera nos domine ab omni malo et custodia* nos semper in omni bono. Christe Jesu auctor omnium bonorum qui regnas in sæcula.

“Pax et caritas domini nostri Jesu Christi sit semper nobiscum.

“*Hic pax datur ei etiam dicis.*

“Pax etiam communicatio sanctorum tuorum Christe Jesu sit semper nobiscum.—*Respondit Amen.*

“*Das ei eucharistiam dicens.*

“Corpus etiam sanguis domini nostri Jesu Christi filii dei vivi conservat animam tuam in vitam perpetuam.†

“*Post adsumptum ait.*

* Sic originale.

† For fac simile of this passage, see plate V. 2.

“Agimus deo patri omnipotenti gratias quod terrenæ nos originis atque naturæ sacramenti sui dono in celestem vivificaverit de motatione.

“*Item oratio*—Ostende nobis Domine, miser—

“Converte nos deus salutem* nostrum et firmare præsta salutem nostrorum* qui regnas in sæcula sæculorum.

“*Ait.*—Calicem salutaris vos invocabo :—

“*Ac.*—Fortitudo mea vos in salutem :—

“*Ac.*—Refecti Christi corpore etiam sanguine tibi semper dicamus :—

“*Ac.*—Laudate dominum omnes gentes vos in fin—

“*Ac.*—Sacrificate sacrificium justi vos in domino :—

“*Tunc signas etiam dicis pax detur.*

“Benedicat tibi dominus et custodiat te conservat vultum tuum ad te quod det tibi pacem.

* Sic originale.

“*Respondet.*—Deus tibi gratias agimus per quem ministeria sancta celebramus et a te dona sanctitatis deposcimus qui regnas in sæcula.*

On the last membrane at the end of the gospel of St. John, a part of which is torn and wanting, is, *Finit, Amen, + Dimma Macc Nathi, +* and the following two lines of Irish poetry:—

Ycuym dom hlluag mo yaethin alean-
 main alt cen dychill,
 Cum namnteach nacnad acur atnab
 hjoymchjth.

“*I now cease from my labor, having continued it with unremitting assiduity for the sanctification of souls, hoping they may dwell in thy kingdom.*”

I am chiefly indebted to my learned and valued friend, Mr. Edward O’Rielly, for the decyphering and translation of the Irish sentences.

* I have purposely avoided punctuation, except where a point in the MS. denotes the end of a sentence, and in the extracts from St. Matthew, and the Epistle to the Corinthians, which agree verbatim with the Venetian vulgate, published in 1574. I have also collated several chapters of the gospel of St. John, and find them to be very nearly the same as the Venetian.



...the ... of the ...
... the ... of the ...
... the ... of the ...
... the ... of the ...
... the ... of the ...

... the ... of the ...

The first of these is the parish of St. Andrew, which was one of the original parishes of the county, and was situated in the town of Wilton. It was one of the most fertile and populous parishes in the county, and was the seat of the ancient and noble family of the Bishops of Salisbury.

The second of these is the parish of St. Peter, which was also one of the original parishes of the county, and was situated in the town of Wilton. It was one of the most fertile and populous parishes in the county, and was the seat of the ancient and noble family of the Bishops of Salisbury.

The third of these is the parish of St. James, which was also one of the original parishes of the county, and was situated in the town of Wilton. It was one of the most fertile and populous parishes in the county, and was the seat of the ancient and noble family of the Bishops of Salisbury.

The fourth of these is the parish of St. Mary, which was also one of the original parishes of the county, and was situated in the town of Wilton. It was one of the most fertile and populous parishes in the county, and was the seat of the ancient and noble family of the Bishops of Salisbury.

The fifth of these is the parish of St. John, which was also one of the original parishes of the county, and was situated in the town of Wilton. It was one of the most fertile and populous parishes in the county, and was the seat of the ancient and noble family of the Bishops of Salisbury.

The sixth of these is the parish of St. Michael, which was also one of the original parishes of the county, and was situated in the town of Wilton. It was one of the most fertile and populous parishes in the county, and was the seat of the ancient and noble family of the Bishops of Salisbury.

The seventh of these is the parish of St. George, which was also one of the original parishes of the county, and was situated in the town of Wilton. It was one of the most fertile and populous parishes in the county, and was the seat of the ancient and noble family of the Bishops of Salisbury.

The eighth of these is the parish of St. David, which was also one of the original parishes of the county, and was situated in the town of Wilton. It was one of the most fertile and populous parishes in the county, and was the seat of the ancient and noble family of the Bishops of Salisbury.



LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE VISITATION
OF THE SICK.

“Brethren, let us pray for our brother N. that the Lord God may mitigate the present evil of his severe indisposition; that the pity of the Lord may deign to cure him by heavenly medicine; and that he who gives life, may also give health, through our Lord.

“Dearly beloved brethren, let us humbly pray to the almighty and living God, to whom it is most easy to renew and to confirm all works, for our infirm brother, that the creature may feel the hand of the Creator, either in rejecting or receiving, holy through his name, and by whose work he may be thought worthy to be restored, through our Lord.

“Holy Lord, almighty God, author of the eternal universe, by whom all things live; who raiseth the dead, and calleth those things into being which are not, as those that are: thou, who art the beginning, mercifully exert thine accustomed influence, in this thy remedy, through our Lord.

“Dearly beloved brethren, let us beseech God, in whose bountiful hand is the life of the living and the dying, that he may cure the infirmity of his body, as well as grant salvation to his soul; and that which, by merit, he may not deserve, may follow, by grace to our prayers, through our Lord.

“ O God, who desireth not the death of a sinner, but that he may be converted, and live, forgive him his sins, his heart being turned towards thee, and grant him everlasting life, through our Lord.

“ O God, who wilt always give to thy creatures holy dispositions, incline thine ear to us, beseeching thee; favourably regard thy servant N. labouring under the affliction of a sickly body; visit him with thy healing power, even to the remedy of heavenly grace, through our Lord.

“ If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men the most miserable; for now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept: for since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead, and as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive.

“ In that day came unto him the Sadducees, who say there is no resurrection, and questioned him: Jesus, answering, said unto them, ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God: for, in the resurrection, they neither marry or are given in marriage, but shall be as the angels in heaven: of the resurrection of the dead, do you not read that which is said by God, saying to you, I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, not the God of the dead, but of the living. Hearing these things, the multitude wondered at his doctrine.

“ Taught by divine institution, confirmed also by divine authority, we presume to say:—I believe in God, the Father almighty; I believe also in Jesus Christ, his Son; I believe also in the Holy Ghost. I believe in a life after death; I believe that I shall rise again.

“ I anoint thee with holy oil, in the name of the Trinity, that thou mayest obtain everlasting salvation.

“ Grant to us, thy servants, that praying with faith, we may be worthy to say, *Our Father, &c.*

“ *The sick man sings if he can, if not, the priest sings in his stead.*

“ Accept, O Lord, the words which thou hast commanded; forgive our presumption, because thou hast ordained it; it is ignorance in us not to feel its value, and contumacious not to keep the precept by which we are commanded to say, *Our Father, &c.*

“ Deliver us from all evil, and keep us always in every good, O Christ Jesus, author of all good, who reignest for ever.

“ The peace and love of our Lord Jesus Christ be always with us.

“ *Here peace is given him, also say,*

“ The peace and fellowship of thy saints, O Christ, be always with us.

“He answers, *Amen.*”

“*You give him the Eucharist, saying:—*”

“The body as well as the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, preserve thy soul to life everlasting.

“*After receiving, he says:—*”

“We give thanks to God, the Father almighty, that he has quickened us of earthly origin and nature, by the gift of his holy sacrament.

“*Then the prayer.—Shew us thy mercy, O Lord.*”

“Convert us, O Lord, preserve our health, and keep us in safety, who reignest for ever and ever.

“*He then says—To the cup of salvation I will call you:—*”

“*And—My strength shall be your safety:—*”

“*And—Refreshed by the body and blood of Christ, we may always say to thee:—*”

“*And—Praise the Lord, all ye nations:—*”

“*And—Offer the sacrifice of the just to the Lord, &c.*”

“*Then you may signify, and say peace is given.*”

“That the Lord may bless thee and keep thee, and preserve thy countenance to thee, and that he may give thee peace.

“*He answereth—We give thanks to thee, O God, by whose permission we may celebrate thy holy offices, and from thee we implore the gifts of holiness, who reigneth for ever.*”

VENERABLE BEDE.

IN order that we may be able to appreciate the true value of the foregoing most interesting document, it is necessary that we should know some thing more of the history of the church of Ireland in those early times; for the better attainment of this object, I insert the following extracts from the ecclesiastical history of venerable Bede, which contain the substance of every thing that excellent author says respecting Ireland, as well civil as ecclesiastical: his testimony is above suspicion, and entitled to our full credence. His prejudices had a bias against the conclusion, which his testimony compels us to draw.

BOOK I.—CHAP. I.

“And afterwards, when they (i. e. the Britons,) from the south, had in their possession a great part of the island, it chanced that the Picts, a people coming from Scythia, as is said, travelling by sea, in a few long ships, the wind driving them along the coast of Britain, blew them on the north coasts of Ireland, which they found inhabited by Scots, and of whom they besought permission to settle on some part of that island, but

they could not obtain their request. This island, next to Britain, is the largest island of the ocean, and lies westward of Britain. But, although it runneth not so far northward, it is much farther westward than Britain, jutting towards the north parts of Spain, having the main sea between them. The Picts, as I have before said, having arrived with their navy in Ireland, requested permission of the inhabitants to settle therein. The Scots answered that the island was not large enough to contain them both, but we, said they, can give you counsel what is best to be done. We know there is another island, eastward of us, at no great distance, which is visible to us in fine weather; you may go and inhabit it, and if you meet with resistance, we will assist you. Whereupon, they sailed for Britain, and settled themselves in the north parts thereof, the south parts of Britain had been occupied before. The Picts having no wives, requested of the Scots to be allowed to marry their daughters, which the latter agreed to, on the condition, that whenever the matter was doubtful, they should choose their king of the woman's house, rather than the man's, which order the Picts observe to this day, as is well known. *In process of time, after the Britains and Picts, the Scots also settled in Britain among the Picts.* They came from Ireland under Reuda, their general, and by friendship and their

swords, they established themselves in that country. From this general they are called the Dalreudini, for, in their language, *Daal* signifies a part.

“Ireland exceeds Britain in breadth, and in salubrity, and serenity of climate, so much that snow rarely remains more than three days on the ground, and no one ever saves hay in the summer, or builds sheds for their cattle in winter. No venomous reptiles are to be seen, or can live there, for often serpents have been brought from Britain, and, as soon as they drew near the land, and breathed the air, they died; nay, all things coming from that land is a remedy for poison: this we have observed, that when certain men have been bitten by serpents, the scraping of books, which had been in Ireland, and having been given to them in water to drink, the swelling of their bodies ceased, and the force of their venom was abated. The land is rich in milk and honey, and is not destitute of vines, and abounds in deer, fish, and fowl. This is properly the country of the Scots, out of which, as we have said, they added the third nation to the Britons and Picts.

“There is a large arm of the sea which, of old time, separated the Britons from the Picts, which from the west runs far into the land, where, at this day, there is a large well fortified city of the

Britons, called Alcluith ; on the north side of which, the Scots, as we have said, have settled and made it their country."

BOOK I.—CHAP. XIII.

"In the year of the incarnation, 423, the younger Theodosius, succeeding Honorius, was the forty-fifth emperor after Augustus, and reigned twenty-seven years. In the eighth year of his reign, Palladius was sent to be the first bishop of the Scots, believing in Christ, by Celestine, the Pontiff of the Roman Church."

BOOK II.—CHAP. IV.

"A.D. 605, Lawrence succeeded S. Austin, as bishop (of Canterbury,) who had ordained him before his death thereto. He not only anxiously laboured to support the church, newly erected among the English, but also laboured as a true pastor to the church of the Britons, the old inhabitants of the Britain, and also to the Scots, who inhabited the adjoining island of Ireland. For, when he knew that the life and profession of the Scots, in their aforesaid country, as well as the Britons, to be very unecclesiastical, in many points, especially as they celebrated Easter out of due time ; but, as I have before taught, they thought they ought to celebrate and observe the Lord's resurrection from the 14th moon to the

20th, he, with his brethren, the other bishops, wrote to them an exhortatory epistle, beseeching them to observe and keep the unity and peace of the catholic observation, which was used in the church of Christ over the universe. The beginning of the epistle was as follows :—

“ To their beloved lords and brethren, the bishops and abbots of all Scotland, Lawrence, Melitus, and Justus, bishops, the servants of the servants of God.

“ When the see apostolic, as it does to the whole orb of the universe, sent us to these western parts to preach the gospel to pagan nations, and directed us to enter this isle, which is called Britain. We held in great reverence the sanctity both of the Britons and the Scots, as we believed they walked according to the manner of the universal church ; we now know the Britons do not, but we thought better of the Scots. We have since learned from bishop Dagamus, when he came to this land, and also from Columban, the abbot, when in France, that the Scots differ not with the Britons in their conversation, for bishop Dagamus, when he came to us, would not only not eat with us, but would not so much as eat his meat in the house where we were.”

“Lawrence, and the other bishops, sent letters to the British priests, by worthy messengers, in which he anxiously besought them to adopt and conform to the catholic unity ; but how much he succeeded, the present times declare.”

BOOK II.—CHAP. XIX.

“A.D. 634, pope Honorius sent letters to the Scots, whom he understood to err in keeping Easter, exhorting them earnestly not to esteem their own small number wiser than all the church of Christ, either antient or modern, of the whole world, who agree in keeping the same Easter, as has been decreed by all the bishops in synods and general councils.

“John, who succeeded Honorius, when he was nominated and elected bishop of Rome, for the correction of said errors, directed letters of great authority and learning, clearly proving that Easter Sunday ought to be observed from the 15th moon, to the 21st, as was decreed by the council of Nice. He also warned them of the Pelagian heresy which he understood was springing up among them. The beginning of the epistle was as follows :—

“To the most dear and holy Thomian, Columban, Chronan, Diman, and Baithan, bishops ;

and to Chronan, Ernian, Laistran, Scellan, and Segian, presbyters; to Saran, and the rest of the doctors and abbots of the Scots: Hilarus, the arch-presbyter, keeper of the holy apostolic see, John, the deacon, in the name of God elected and chosen bishop of the holy see, John, the chief secretary and keeper of the see apostolic, and John, also a servant of God, and a counsellor of the same see. The letters which ye sent to pope Severinus of holy memory, have not been answered, because the pope departed this life before their arrival. We have opened said letters, in this vacancy of the holy see, lest you should remain in ignorance on so great a question, and that it should be undiscussed amongst you. In which letters we have read and observed that certain people of your province, contrary to the right faith, attempt to renew an old heresy, refusing very ignorantly our Easter, in which Christ was offered, our true paschal lamb, to God the Father, intending to celebrate the same with the Jews in the 14th of the moon," &c.

BOOK III.—CHAP. III.

"A.D. 635. Oswald, shortly after he came to the crown, (of Northumberland,) being desirous that his people should be instructed in the truths of the Christian faith, whereof he had great evidence of the truth, by vanquishing

his barbarian enemies. He sent to the chief of the Scots, among whom, in his exile, he had received the sacrament of baptism, as did the soldiers who were with him, requesting them to send him a prelate, by whose preaching and ministry the English, whom he ruled, might be instructed in the gifts, and receive the sacraments of the faith of our Lord. Nor were those things, which he desired, denied or withheld from him. Bishop Aidan, a man of great meekness, godliness, modesty, and piety, having a great zeal for God, although not according to knowledge, for he kept Easter Sunday from the 14th day after the change of the moon, until the 20th, according to the custom of his country, as we have before mentioned: for the north part of Scotland, and the Picts, celebrated Easter in the same manner, thinking they followed the written advice of Anatolius. How justly, those who are skilful in the Christian religion are not ignorant. The Scots, who lived in the south part of Ireland, advised by the apostolic see, had long since learned to celebrate Easter according to universal rule.

“When Aidan arrived, the king appointed him to be bishop of Holy Island, as he desired. This place, by the flowing of the tide, is twice a day made an island, and as often by the receding of the water, made part of the main land.

By the advice of this good bishop, the king being ever ready to follow it, the church of Christ was much enlarged in his dominions: and, whereas, the bishop was unskilful in the English tongue, and the king understanding the Scottish, by reason of his long exile in Ireland, when the bishop preached the faith of Christ, the king interpreted the heavenly word to his generals and subjects, which was a gratifying and pleasing sight. For a long time, many persons came from Ireland into the English provinces of Britain, under the government of king Oswald, with great devotion, to preach the gospel of Christ, and baptizing all who believed. Churches were built in convenient places, and the people gladly assembled together to hear the word of God. Of his great bounty, the king granted lands and possessions for the foundation of religious houses, and old persons, as well as young children, were trained up by the Scots in the observance of regular discipline, for they were, for the most part, monks who came to preach. Aidan was a monk of the island called Hii, which house was, for a long time, the chief of all the religious houses of the northern Scots and Picts, which were subject to it. The island, indeed, belongs to Britain, being separated from it only by a very narrow arm of the sea, but, by free gift of the Picts, who inhabit that part of Britain, it was granted lately to the Scottish monks,

in reward for their virtuous preaching the faith of Christ.”

BOOK III.—CHAP. IV.

“A. D. 563. Columba, a distinguished priest and abbot, both by his habit and holy life, came from Ireland to preach the word of God to the Picts who dwelt in the north parts of Britain, that is, to those who were separated by those tremendous mountains from the Picts who dwelt in the more southern parts, who had long before abandoned idolatry, and embraced the true faith, which was preached to them by the reverend and holy bishop Ninia, a Briton, who had been duly and regularly instructed in the true faith at Rome, &c.

“Columba came to Britain in the ninth year of the reign of the potent Brideus, the son of Meilochon, king of the Picts, and by his learning and example, converted that nation to the faith, for which service the aforesaid island was given him to found a monastery. The isle is not large, but about sufficient for the support of five families, according to the English estimation. His successors keep it to this day, and he was buried there, aged seventy-seven years thirty-two after he came to preach in Britain.

“Before he went to Britain, he founded a noble monastery in Ireland, which, from the great quantity of oaks in the neighbourhood, is called, in the Scottish language, *Dearmach*, that is to say, the *field of oaks*. From both these monasteries many religious houses, both in Britain and Ireland, were founded by his disciples, of all which the monastery in the island is the chief house.

“This island was always governed by an abbot, who is a priest, to whom the whole country, and the bishops themselves were, after a strange and uncommon custom, subject, according to the example of the first doctor, who was not a bishop, but a priest and a monk. Many things are written of his life and actions by his disciples; but we know certainly that he left successors of great continence, distinguished charity, and holy life. In observing the feast of Easter, they trusted to uncertain guides, and it is not surprising, considering that no man sent unto them the decrees for the keeping thereof.”

BOOK III.—CHAP. V.

“From this island, therefore, and from this monastery, was Aidan sent to instruct the English in the faith of Christ: at the time that Sigenius was abbot, he accepted the office of bishop,” &c.

BOOK III.—CHAP. XVI—XXV.

“Finanus, a holy man from Hy, succeeded Aidan, and was bishop of Northumberland a long time. He built a church on Lindisfarn, (*Holy Island*) for the bishop's see, not of stone, but of oak wood, with thatch, as the Scotch custom was.

“A.D. 652. A great controversy arose about the keeping of Easter. The bishops of Kent and France asserted that the Scots observed Easter Sunday contrary to the rule of the universal church; and among them Ronan, a Scot by birth, but well instructed in the rules of the church in France and Italy, and therefore a strenuous defender of the true keeping of Easter, who disputing and arguing the matter with Finanus, induced many to embrace the truth, but could not prevail with Finan himself, but rather exasperated him, for he was a hasty petulant man, and thus made him an avowed enemy to the cause of truth.

“A.D. 664. After the death of Finanus, Colman succeeded him in the bishopric, who was also sent from Ireland. In his time, the controversy began to increase, and also about other variances, by which many began to fear and doubt, lest, though bearing the name of Christ, they had run in vain; for Oswin *being educated*

and baptized among the Scots, and well acquainted with their tongue, thought their manner of observance most consistent with the truth; but Alcf rid, the king's son, having been taught by the learned Wilfrid, preferred his opinion *to the traditions of the Scots*. To him the prince gave a monastery of forty families, in a place called Inhrypum, which had been in the possession of the Scots, who chose rather to surrender and give up the possession than change their accustomed observances.

“It was determined to hold a synod to decide the question of Easter, the tonsure, and other ecclesiastical matters, at a monastery called Strenaeshalch. To this synod both the kings, Oswin and Alcf rid, father and son, attended. Colman, and his Scottish clergy, Hilda, the abbess of Strenaeshalch, and her company, with Cedda, the venerable bishop, lately consecrated by the Scots, and king Oswin on one side; king Alcf rid, Agilbert, the bishop, with Agatho and Wilfred, priests, and James and Ronan on the other side.

“King Oswin premised that it behoved those, who served God, to keep one order and rule, and not to vary in celebrating the sacraments, who all looked for one heavenly kingdom, but that the

truth should be searched out, and followed by all: he commanded bishop Colman to declare his opinion first.

“The bishop answered:—*The Easter I have observed, I received from my ancestors, who sent me here to be bishop: all our fathers, virtuous men, beloved of God, are known to have so celebrated Easter, and that it may not seem to be a matter to be despised or reprobated, it is the same which was observed by the blessed St. John, the disciple whom Jesus loved, and of all the churches founded by him.*”

My object being merely to shew the state of the Scottish or Irish church at this period, I shall not enter into the arguments on either side, further than to state, that Wilfrid appears to have silenced, but not convinced Colman, by asking him if he set up the authority of Columba and the Scottish fathers against that of St. Peter, to whom our Lord said, ‘*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock,*’ &c. The king asking Colman if our Lord really said those words to Peter? He answered in the affirmative; and again being asked, if he could produce any *such special authority to Columba*, answered in the negative. The king then said he would not question the authority of such a porter, lest he should shut the gate against him.

Whereupon Colman, being conquered in argument, gave up his bishopric rather than his principles, and returned home, taking with him his followers. This controversy took place in the year 664, thirty years after the Scots had been bishops in England; Aidan having governed the church seventeen years, Finan ten, and Colman three years. Colman carried with him the bones of Aidan.

BOOK III—CHAP. XXVII.

“A.D. 664. This year was a great eclipse of the sun on the 3rd day of May, about ten o’clock. There was also a great pestilence, which depopulated first a great part of the south of Britain, reached Northumberland, and destroyed a great many people, and, among the rest, Tuda, the bishop who succeeded Aidan, who was honorably buried in a place called Paegnalaech. This plague extended to Ireland, where there were a great many young English noblemen, and others of a lower class, under Finan and Colman, the bishops, for the purposes of study, and to live strictly, and some of these became ecclesiastics, and others attended the houses and cells of their teachers, pursuing their studies. *These the Scots entertained liberally and kindly, giving them not only their board and lodging without charge, but books.* Among the noble English were two young

men, esteemed above the rest, Edilhum and Eegbert; the first was brother to that man, beloved of God, Edelhum, who, in the age following, lived in Ireland *for learning sake*, and returning to his country, was made bishop of Lindisse, (Lincoln.)”

BOOK V.—CHAP. IX.

“This Columba was the first preacher of the faith of Christ to the Picts who dwelt beyond the mountains to the north, and the founder of the monastery of Hy, which was in great reverence among the Scots and Picts. Columba is now called by some *Columcell*, of a combination of the words Cella and Columba.”

BOOK V.—CHAP. XVI.

“A.D. 701. At this time a great many of the Scots in Ireland, and also Britons, adopted, by the grace of God, the true observance of Easter taught by the catholic church. Adamnanus, a priest, abbot of Hy, being sent by his prince to Alfred, king of the English, and remaining some time in England, observed the canonical rites and ceremonies of the church, and being sharply admonished by the learned, that he should not presume to live contrary to the universal church, either in keeping the feast of Easter, or in any other decrees, be they what they may,

his country being so small, and the people so few, and seated in furthest corner of the world, he preferred the customs of the English church to those of his own; and when he returned he endeavoured to induce those of the island of Hy to adopt the broad beaten path of truth, but he did not succeed. Whereupon he sailed for Ireland, where he, by preaching and exhortation, prevailed upon many, that were not under the dominion of Hy, to receive the unity of the church. He afterwards, returning to his island, again attempted to prevail on the brethren to adopt this general observation, but could not succeed. He shortly after fell sick and died."

BOOK V.—CHAP. XXI.

"A.D. 610. Naitan, king of the Picts, adopted the Roman observance of Easter.

"A.D. 716. Not long after, the Scottish monks who inhabit the island of Hy, with all the monasteries under their jurisdiction, adopted the canonical observance of Easter, and the right manner of ecclesiastical tonsure."

As Bede declares the British and Irish churches held communion of faith with each other, it is necessary to detail briefly some leading points of the history of the British, in order to understand

rightly that of the Irish church. In the fourth chapter of the first book, A. D. 156, he says that Lucius, king of Britain, wrote to pope Eleutherius, desiring, that by his commandment, he might be made Christian, and that his request was granted, and the Britons embraced the faith, which they kept incorruptly till the time of Diocletian. This, I consider, means that the king, and his people, having embraced the Christian faith, wished for an ecclesiastical establishment by the appointment and consecration of bishops.

From the above period he speaks of the uninterrupted succession of the British church until the Saxon invasion. A. D. 430, book i. chap. 13, he says Celestine sent Palladius to Ireland, *to the Scots believing in Christ*. In the next chapter, in speaking of the Britons, he says that not only did the laymen but the *clergy* give themselves up to all manner of intemperance, &c. &c. and were punished by a plague.

A. D. 596. Augustine was sent over *to the English*, who, A. D. 603, set about to bring the British church into the unity of practice of the church of Rome, but they refused to acknowledge him as their archbishop, or to adopt the Roman ritual: on which Austin prophesied that they should incur severe punishment, which Bede says

was fulfilled by Edelfred, the Saxon king, who "*maximam gentis perfidæ stragem dedit*; slew this perfidious people with great slaughter at Carleon, (St. David's) and then goes on to exult in destruction of the British monks, whose crime was praying against their invaders, adding, "therefore he commanded his soldiers to attack them, and so vanquished *this detestable host*, not, however, without considerable loss. And so was completed the prediction of St. Austin, and this perfidious people suffered death *because they refused and despised wholesome advice and eternal salvation when it was offered.*" It will be seen in the foregoing extracts that Bede asserts the Scots church to be in unity with the British, having the same ritual, and they are equally stigmatized as heretical schismatics.

The following answer of the abbot of Bangor, in Wales, to Augustine, is taken from Spelman's councils, p. 108.

"Responsio Abbatis Bangor ad Augustinum Monachum petentem subjectionem Ecclesæ Romanæ.

"Sit notum et certum vobis, quod sumus nos omnes et singuli obedientes et subditi ecclesiæ dei et papæ Romæ et unicuique Christiano pio

ad amandum unumquemque in su ogradu cum charitate perfecta et ad juvandum unumquemque ex iis et verbo et facto fore filios dei : Et aliam obedientiam quam hanc non scio debitam ei quem vos nominatis papam vel patrem patrum vindicari et postulari : sed obedientiam hanc sumus nos parati dare et solvere ei et cuique Christiano in æternum. Præterea sumus nos sub gubernatione episcopi Caerlegionis super Uscam qui est superintendus sub deo super nobis ad faciendum nos servare viam spiritualem."

St. Patrick is mentioned in the martyrology of Bede as follows :

"Martius — XVI. Kal. Apr. — In Scotia S. Patricii Confessoris.—Eodem die obitus S. Gertrudis virginis."

Let us now examine what other evidence is to be had on the subject.

After archbishop Ussher, whose great learning, talents, and research into Irish antiquities, place him above all others, has decided St. Patrick's mission in the affirmative, the subject should be approached with great deference and respect, for so high an authority : but this feeling may carry us too far ; no genius, however exalted, or learn-

ing, however profound, is entitled to implicit submission, should preclude investigation, or shut the door against inquiry.

The Rev. Dr. Charles O'Connor, whose learning and acquirements certainly render him a first-rate authority, has brought forward new evidence on this subject, in the third letter of Columbanus, p. 48, et seq. He justly condemns references to legends as evidence, and says, "*to quote authorities, in support of a disputed fact, which are not, by both parties, admitted as authentic, is only to demonstrate a lack of logic and a lack of sense.*" He triumphantly disproves the libellous charge of want of candour and misquotation brought against archbishop Ussher, by an incautious and careless writer, and regrets that no Irish pen had done it before. Did not the silence of the admirers of that illustrious prelate rather prove it to be unnecessary?

Dr. O'Connor gives a copy of the letter written by the archbishop to Camden, which he collated with the original, now among the Cotton MSS. in the British museum. Julius, c. iii. he (Ussher) says, "touching St. Patrick, I gave him (Ryves) good leave to discredit, as much as he list, the pack of miraculous miracles which later writers had fastened on St. Patrick, *but in no wise to*

touch the credit of that worthy man himself, nor to question his succession to Palladius, nor to cast him into lower times, contrary to the consent of all writers that ever make mention of him; and to this end, I shewed unto him what I had gathered together to this purpose, in a treatise which I had lately wrote, at the request of Dr. Hampton, late lord archbishop of Armagh. You may easily see what little the testimony, or rather the silence, of so late an author as Platina is, may carry, to bear down the constant agreement of all our own writers. The objection would be far more specious if it were drawn from the silence of Bede. Yet have I seen in Sir Robert Cotton's library, an ancient fragment, written before the time of Bede, wherein St. Patrick is not only mentioned, but made to be as antient in time, as hitherto we have believed him to be. It was found among Mr. Josceline's papers, &c."

Dr. O'Connor says he has carefully perused and examined the Josceline MS. to which Ussher thus refers, and adds, "Ussher certainly *mistakes* in making this MS. so antient. I have examined it minutely, and take upon me to state decisively, that it is not older than *the ninth century*. But yet Ussher's argument holds good if the author wrote before the days of Bede; and that he did, is admitted not only by Spelman, but by Mabillon,

in his excellent work, *De Liturgia Gallicana*.— See Cotton MS. Nero, A. 11, with my MS. work, entitled *Bibliotheca Hibernico-Cottoniana*, in Stowe library.

“The following extract from the life of St. Columba, written by Cumian, one of his disciples, very soon after the death of his patron, A.D. 596. ‘*Patricius namque primus Hiberniæ apostolus avum proavumque (Columbæ) Fergusium nempe et Conallum benedixit.*’ ” Dr. O’Connor gives this as *indisputable and undoubted authority*, because this antient life is expressly referred to by Adamnan, who wrote above half a century before the death of Bede. *It was published imperfectly by Colgan, perfectly by Mabillon.*—Sæc. Benedictinorum.

“Another curious passage relating to St. Patrick, is observable in the Paschal Epistle of the younger Cumian to Segenius, abbot of Hyona, which was written a whole century before Bede wrote his history, and precisely in the year 640. In this learned epistle of one of the most learned fathers of the Irish church, the venerable author objects to the time of celebrating Easter day at Hyona, as repugnant to the *cycle which, says he, our holy pope St. Patrick introduced into Ireland.* I have compared the original MS. in the Cotton

library, Vitel. A. xii. with Ussher's edition in his Sylloge ad. ann. 640, and have found it as accurate, as all Ussher's editions most decidedly are, even in controversial passages which make against himself. Long before Bede's time, St. Patrick is mentioned by Adamnan in the very preface to his life of Columba, which, next to Sulpicius Severius's life of St. Martin of Tours, is one of the most valuable pieces of biography that all the middle ages can boast of.—*Quidam proselytus Brito S. PATRICII DISCIPULUS.*

“There is a fifth very valuable authority for the mission of St. Patrick, &c. There is extant a MS. in the Irish characters, which is above one thousand years old, entitled *Antiphonarium Benchoreense*. It was discovered by Cardinal F. Boromeo, in the antient monastery of Bobio, in Italy ; from whence it was transferred to the Ambrosian library at Milan, where it now is, number x. litera c. Muratori shewed it to Montfaucon, who, after a minute investigation, pronounced it above one thousand years old, and rejoiced that now, at last, in spite of all objections, the reality of St. Patrick's mission to Ireland was placed beyond the reach of controversy. Muratori relates that it was carried into Italy from Ireland, by *a celebrated Irish monk*, who travelled to Pavia in the time of Charlemagne. Now this MS. the venerable antiquity

of which is attested by the four greatest diplomata-
tists of the last century, by Montfaucon, Mabillon,
Muratori, and Reunart, contains a hymn *in honor*
of St. Patrick, master of the Scots.—" *Hymnus*
S. Patricii, magistri Scotorum."

" A sixth coeval authority, equally unknown
to our writers, which historically proves St. Pa-
trick's mission, is that of an anonymous monk,
who was eye witness to the death of St. Gertrude,
and wrote her life, published by Mabillon, in the
second age of his annals of the Benedictines.

" I have wondered also that our writers have
not quoted, on this subject, the following lines
written by Alcuin, who was preceptor to Charle-
magne, and, next to Bede, the most learned father
of the Saxon church.

" '*Patricius, Kieranus, Scotorum gloriæ gentis,*
Atque Columbanus, Comgallus, Adamnanus,
Præclari patres.' " *

" St. Patrick is mentioned also in a Saxon ver-
sion of the life of our Connaught countryman,
the martyr St. Furseus, the original of which I

* See his metrical life of Willebrord, published by Gale,
Scriptores post Bedam. Oxon. 1691.

have proved, in my prolegomena to the Irish annals, to have been written in 665."

Dr. O'Connor sums up the whole with the following sentence : "I shall here content myself with observing, that if all these authorities and MSS. in which St. Patrick is expressly mentioned, were destroyed, the laws of just criticism forbid, that, after the lapse of so many ages, and the destruction of so many monasteries and libraries as formerly existed in Ireland, before the Danish invasion, *the silence* alone of such authors as remain, (supposing such silence) should be admitted in evidence to overthrow a national tradition so universal in every part of Ireland, Scotland, and Man, so immemorial, and so incorporated, as that of St. Patrick is, with the traditionary usages, names, anniversaries, monastic ruins, and popular manners *of one hundred millions of Irishmen* who have existed since his time."

I should be well pleased were I able to say the evidence adduced, and the arguments made use of by Dr. O'Connor, had satisfied my mind on this important subject, as it appears to have done his own. I confess I am inclined to doubt the accuracy of my own judgment when I differ from such a man on such a subject ; I shall, however, make some remarks, not so much with a view to

refute the positions laid down, as established, by Dr. O'Connor, as for the purpose of supporting what would appear to be the truth, by an examination of the evidence on both sides, and first for the affirmative.

Dr. O'Connor, in some degree, destroys the authority of the fragment mentioned by Ussher, by proving it to be of the ninth century; the admission of Spelman and Mabillon that the author wrote before the time of Bede, is *argument, not evidence*.

The extract from the life of St. Columba, by Cumian, *published by Colgan and Mabillon*, is of no better authority than the hymn of St. Feich, unless an original MS. of greater antiquity than Bede can be produced in support of it.

Of the paschal epistle of the younger Cumian to Segienus, written in 640, speaking of the *cycle* which *St. Patrick introduced into Ireland*, I am not able to collect whether Dr. O'Connor quotes from an original MS. but it appears quite irreconcilable with Colman's declaration in 664, that his Easter, *which was different from the Roman, was received from his ancestors*.

Adamnan's mention of St. Patrick, in his life of

Columba, is of doubtful authority, and looks very like an interpolation; "*S. Patricii discipulus*," —*three words only* of Ireland's apostle!!

The fifth evidence adduced by Dr. O'Connor, the Bobio MS. *the Antiphonarium Benchoreense*, containing the "*hymnus S. Patricii magistri Scotorum*," is certainly a very interesting document, and well worthy of investigation; but before we give it place and weight, as evidence, we ought to know something more of it; it is hardly fair to demand credence for a document, about which we possess so little information, and that little so unsatisfactory. There is a fac simile plate opposite p. 56 of his work, but he does not tell us what it is of, we are left to conjecture if of the Bobio MS.; it is not of the *hymnus S. Patricii*, nor is a copy given of that document. He tells us that Muratori shewed it to Montfaucon, who pronounced it above one thousand years old, and *rejoiced* that it placed the reality of St. Patrick's mission *beyond the reach of controversy*. I should rejoice on the same account, if it really proved this fact, and if a copy of the hymn had been given, and the MS. itself proved to be worthy to be ranked with unquestionable evidence. Not having access to the work of Muratori, or of Gerbertus, I cannot say how far the Bobio MS. is admissible as evidence, or if admitted, how it

bears on the case. The works above mentioned are not of common occurrence, are not even in the library of Trinity college; when, therefore, Dr. O'Connor brings forward this MS. as evidence, and expects implicit credence and acceptance, we are entitled to have it proved to be worthy of credit: a copy of the hymn itself, and a fac simile not only of the MS. but of that particular part of it which we are to receive in evidence, should have been given. I do not charge Dr. O'Connor with want of candour; I believe him incapable of the slightest attempt to mislead, or to give even colour to an argument, or a quotation, which he does not conscientiously believe it demands; but can we dispense with what just criticism demands, even in his favour, or can we, therefore, attach that weight to this MS. which perhaps it might be entitled to, if we were better acquainted with it, or admit that it proves any thing?

The sixth authority of Dr. O'Connor, the life of St. Gertrude, by an anonymous monk, comes under the description of *authorities not admitted by both parties*, and, therefore, is of no weight.

The lines from Alcuin, if supported by better evidence, might have some weight, but are a feather in opposition to the testimony of Bede.

The life of St. Furseus is liable to the same objection; *we have it not in court*, and therefore cannot judge of the weight of its evidence; we are not even told what it says. Dr. O'Connor says that he has examined the authorities on this subject, critically, in another place. I am not aware that the world have been favoured with his work, except a chosen few, perhaps; I have not had the good fortune ever to see a copy of his *Irish Annals*.

The tradition of so many ages, so universal in every part of Ireland, Scotland, and Man, so interwoven with the usages, names, and monastic ruins of a *hundred millions of Irishmen*, is very strong, and entitled to great weight, but tradition, unsupported, has never been admitted as evidence; neither will the laws of just criticism admit such tradition before, not only the *silence* of Bede, but what *he says*, and gives of the *sayings of others*, whom he introduces to our acquaintance, especially when he tells us of facts which render the truth of St. Patrick's mission almost impossible. The same kind of arguments would support the once universally received British fable of the descent of the Britons from the Trojans, as given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and others, or the history of St. George and the dragon.

Let us now see what conclusions we must draw from Bede's testimony, which *is admitted on both sides.*

It is scarcely to be credited that Bede, who mentions Palladius, the unsuccessful missionary to the Scots, would have been silent with respect to the mission and brilliant exploits of the successful and wonder-working St. Patrick, who had not been dead two hundred years, and whose fame must have been the theme of Scottish eulogy, had they ever heard of his name. Bede says too much about Ireland and her Scottish inhabitants and clergy, to suppose he would not have said more, had he known more; and I cannot conceive it possible that St. Patrick could have deserved such celebrity without his knowledge, and had he heard of him, that he would have passed him over in silence.

Bede next says, that Lawrence, the successor of Augustine, not only laboured as a true pastor to the English, but to the British church, and to that of the Scots, who inhabited the adjacent island of Ireland, *which were both very unecclesiastical in many points*, and therefore wrote letters to the Irish bishops, stating that they "*differ not with the Britons in their conversation, for bishop Dagamus, when he came to*

“us, would not only not eat with us, but would not so much as eat his meat in the house where we were.” And again, in the year 634, pope Honorius wrote letters to the Scots, exhorting them not to think *their small number wiser than all the churches of Christ*. Another letter was sent by John, the successor to Honorius, on the same subject. In neither of these letters is there any reproach against the Scots for having left the faith and observance said to be established among them by a Roman missionary only one hundred and fifty years before, but they are cautioned not to think themselves wiser than the universal church; no allusion whatever is made to their being indebted to Rome for the faith, or a word said about St. Patrick!

In the first paragraph of book iii. chap. iii. after praising Aidan, he says, that the north part of Scotland, (Ireland) and the Picts, celebrate Easter in the same manner, thinking they followed the advice of Anatolius. The Scots, who lived in the south part of Ireland, *advised by the apostolic see, had long since learned to celebrate Easter according to universal rule*. Here is evidence that the Roman see did *advise the south of Ireland*, and the advice was followed; but *the north*, which was the theatre of the alledged exploits of St. Patrick, had at that time either rejected Palla-

dius, and the other missionaries of Rome, or they *had not been sent to them*. The Northumbrians, and among them Bede, must have been well acquainted with Ireland and its traditions, their king, Oswald, having lived there in exile for many years, was there converted to Christianity, and baptized.

There is a very remarkable passage in which Bede, book iii. chap. iv. see extracts, p. 69, says, "In observing the feast of Easter, they trusted to uncertain *cycles*, and it is not surprising, considering *that no man sent unto them the decrees for the keeping thereof*." "*In tempore quidem summæ festivitatis dubios circulos sequentes, utpote quibus longe ultra orbem positus nemo synodalia Paschalis observantiæ decreta porrexerat; tantum ea quæ in prophetis, evangelicis et apostolicis literis discere poterant pietatis et castitatis opera diligenter observantes. Permansit autem hujusmodi observantia Paschalis apud eos tempore non pauco, hoc est, usque ad annum dominicæ incarnationis 715, per annos 150.*" Bede speaks here of the island of Hyona, but his observation equally applies to Ireland, and he positively asserts that there was no mission from Rome, but they, the Scots, *diligently observed the precepts to be found in the writings of the prophets, the gospels, and the apostles*. Where

then was the *cycle* introduced into Ireland by St. Patrick?

A. D. 664. Bede gives a long and very circumstantial account of a synod held at Strenaeshalch, about the Easter controversy, which is given shortly in the extracts, and not necessary to be here repeated. It should, however, be recollected that this took place not two hundred years from the alledged time when St. Patrick was in the zenith of his glorious acts. In that synod, we have an Irish bishop speaking, and what does he say?—Nothing about St. Patrick, not even his name. Had Colman been aware that it was from St. Patrick Ireland received the faith, would he have hesitated to charge the Roman church with variance with its own ordinances? would he not have said, how is it that St. Patrick, a missionary from Rome itself, taught our forefathers this faith, and that not two hundred years since? and, again, the Easter we keep, and the faith we hold, must be the true faith and true Easter, for we have not changed them, and they must have been the faith and Easter of Rome when St. Patrick was sent to preach the gospel to our fathers? Such recent occurrences as the conversion of Ireland by St. Patrick, must have been, in Colman's time, as fresh in the recollection of the Irish Christians, as the usurpation of Cromwell, or the abdication

of James is with us at this day. But what says Colman?—Why, that he received his Easter from his forefathers, and that it was the same as *was observed by St. John, and all the churches established by him, and he never mentions St. Patrick.* What conclusion can a rational mind draw from this, but that the decrees of the first general council held at Nice in the year 325, respecting the period when Easter should be observed, had not been heard of in Ireland until Colman's time, consequently that the mission of St. Patrick from Rome in 433, is absolutely negatived; for he would doubtless have introduced the Roman observances and the Roman faith. Bede gives evidence of an uninterrupted succession of bishops in the British church from A. D. 150. In addition to this he says, Palladius was sent to the Scots *believing in Christ.* Is not this an admission of the existence of Christianity in Ireland previous to the period of St. Patrick's mission? Who were those Christians? We are also told that the Irish *pagans* rejected Palladius. Is it not much more probable, that he being sent for the express purpose of bringing the Irish Christians into subjection to the Roman pontiff, and to unity of practice with the church of Rome, the Irish Christians, who were then as much attached to the faith received from their ancestors, as their descendants were in Bede's time, refused to admit

Palladius as their bishop, and expelled him from their shores?

With respect to the appearance of St. Patrick's name in Bede's Martyrology, it is alleged by Cave, that the text of that work, in common use, *is interpolated*. The passage mentioning St. Patrick is not certainly stigmatized by Cave as an interpolation, but any man, who is accustomed to consider the value and weight of evidence, would, if he received it at all, receive with great suspicion, an extract from a work admitted to be interpolated, especially when that proof was not corroborated by other testimony, of an unquestionable character.

A martyrology, like Battle Abbey roll, of all records, holds out the greatest temptation to the interpolator; the forgery is easiest to be committed, and most difficult of detection. In this case, all that was to be done was the insertion of the five words, *In Scotia S. Patricii Confessoris*. If this entry were genuine, would this meagre sentence have been all the notice which would have been taken of Ireland's apostle?

O'CARROLL.

The following brief sketch of this distinguished sept will be found useful to illustrate the history of Dimma's box and MS. as will also an account of the territory of Helia, or Ely, afterwards called Ely O'Carroll.

The family of O'Carroll, according to the Irish antiquaries, are descended from Kean, the third son of Olioll Olum, king of Munster. Tiege, the eldest son of this Kean, was a distinguished warrior, who, by killing in battle his three rivals, procured for Cormac Mac Art, king of Ulster, the monarchy of Ireland. Cormac rewarded him with a grant of land in Connaught, called Lurgny Gallen, and Culavin, he paying to the king of Connaught, and his successors, 150 milch cows in May, 100 beeves, and 100 barrels of mead, or metheglin, at Alhallontide yearly for ever. He had two sons, Conla, and Cormac Galeng, to the latter he gave the lands of Lurgny Gallen, now called the barony of Gallen, in the county of Mayo, and Culavin, which were possessed by his descendants the O'Haras and O'Garas: Conla, the eldest son, possessed the lands afterwards

called Duthec-Eile, i. e. the estate of Eile,* from Eile Ridhearge, of which his descendants were styled *kings*, there being no other title of honor in use in Ireland before the coming of the English.

Cearbhuill, the twelfth, according to some, and the sixteenth, in descent, according to other authorities, from the above Eile, gave name to the sept of the O'Carrolls, i. e. *the descendants of Cearbhuill*. The tenth in descent from him was Tiege, or Tatheus, O'Cearbhuill Boy, king of Eile, who caused the box of Dimma to be gilt, died about the middle of the twelfth century, and was succeeded by his son,

Maolroona O'Carroll, or O'Cearbhuill, king of Eile, was succeeded by his brother,

Donald O'Carroll, who was king of Ely at the coming of the English under Strongbow, and from him are descended the principal houses of this family.

Maolroona O'Carroll, whose daughter, Grace, or Grania, was married to Ulick Burke, Lord of Clanrickard, and was mother of Rickard Sassanagh Burke, the first earl, joined with O'Brien,

* Some authorities derive the name otherwise. See hereafter.

and others, against the English government and gave them much trouble. He died A. D. 1532. His son, Fergonamuin, or Ferdinando, O'Carroll, who succeeded his father as *O'Carroll*, concluded a treaty with Leonard Lord Gray, lord deputy of Ireland, 12th June, 1538, by which he consented for himself and his successors, the O'Carrolls, *capitanei de Ely* O'Carroll, to pay the king 12d. for every carucate of land in Ely O'Carroll, one hundred and twenty marks on the nomination of the chief, and, on general hostings, to supply the chief governor of Ireland with twelve horsemen, and twenty-four foot men, all well equipped for war, with provisions for forty days, at the expense of O'Carroll; that on all journies to those parts, they should supply the lord deputy and suite with provisions for three days; that the lord deputy should be supplied with provisions, by O'Carroll, for eighty galloglasses, for three months every year, and be permitted to make a road, or roads, through Ely O'Carroll at his pleasure. In 1548, Teige caoch O'Carroll, son of Ferdinando, called by Sir James Ware, petty king of Ely, routed the English out of his country, but afterwards submitted, and was created baron of Ely in 1532,* which he did not long enjoy, having been slain by his own sept,

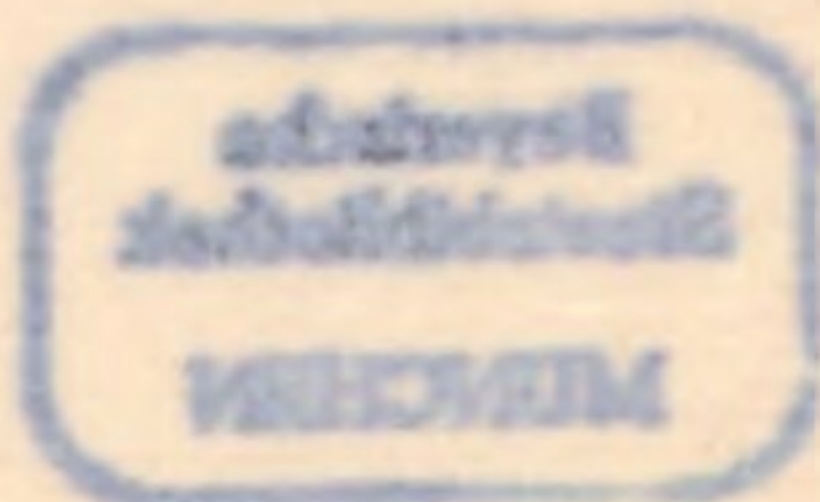
* I have not been able to find the record of this patent.



headed by his kinsman and competitor, Cahir O'Carroll, who was afterwards slain by William Adhar O'Carroll, younger brother of Tieve, who was knighted, 30th March, 1567, and made governor of Ely, and captain of his nation, by Sir Henry Sidney, lord justice of Ireland. Sir William died 28th April, 1579. His natural son, Sir Cahir, or Charles, O'Carroll, was knighted by Sir John Perrott, lord deputy in 1584.

Sir Mulrooney O'Carroll, son of Sir William, was knighted by Sir George Carew, lord deputy of Ireland, at Dublin Castle, St. James's day, 1st March, 1603, being the day of the coronation of king James I.

Roger O'Carroll, son and heir of Sir Mulrooney, was ousted out of his estates by Cromwell, he having attached himself to the king's party, under the Duke of Ormond ; but his eldest son and heir, Charles O'Carroll was in great favour with kings Charles II. and James II. who were not able to restore him to his paternal estate ; the latter made him grants of large tracts of land on the Monoccasy river in the province of Maryland, in North America, which was divided into three manors, of 20,000 acres each, and called, after the possessions he had lost in Ireland, viz. Ely O'Carroll, and Doughoregan. The third was



called Carrolston. This gentleman was also made attorney-general of the province, and his estates are still in the possession of his grandson, Charles O'Carroll, of Carrolston, Esq. aged 90 years, whose father and himself have been members of the senate of that state. Mary, the daughter of the last mentioned Charles, was married to Richard Caton, Esq. of the state of Maryland, by whom she was mother to her excellency Marianne, the present Marchioness of Wellesley, and three other daughters, Elizabeth, Louisa-Catharine, (Lady Harvey,) and Emily.

Sir James Carroll, who was mayor of Dublin, was knighted by Sir Arthur Chichester, lord deputy at Loghroer, the 30th of September, 1609. His father, Thomas O'Carroll, being oppressed by the chief of his family, came to live in Dublin. Sir James Carroll had a grant of the abbey of Baltinglass, and was ancestor to the present high sheriff of the county of Wicklow, Henry Griffiths (Carroll,) of Ballymore, Esq.

Donagh, or Dennis O'Carroll, descended from Donogh O'Carroll, brother to Mulrooney O'Carroll, chief of his name, who died in 1532, was possessed of the estates of Modereeny and Buolybrack, in Tipperary, and was ousted by Cromwell. He married O'Kennedy's daughter, and had thirty

sons, whom he formed into a troop, of horse, and presented to the Duke of Ormond, for the service of king Charles I. On the restoration, John, his son, had a grant of lands at Killury, in the county of Galway, where he married the daughter of O'Crean, by Margaret, the daughter of Lord Athenry. His eldest son, James Carroll, was ancestor to the family of Killury; Daniel, his second son, entered into the military service of the king of Spain, and was made a knight of the order of St. Jago. He was afterwards, through the interest of the Duke of Ormond, made a lieutenant-colonel in the British service, by queen Anne, in which he rose to the rank of lieutenant-general, obtained permission to bear the insignia of the order of St. Jago in England, had also the style of Sir Daniel, and was colonel of a regiment of horse. His grandson, John Whitley O'Carroll, was British resident at Saxe Weimar, in 1804.

I find three other O'Carrolls, John, Donagh, and Kedagh, obtained grants of lands in Connaught, from king Charles II. in compensation for their losses in Leinster. From them are descended the families of Springhill, Tirlogh, Ardagh, Carragh, and Dunmore, in the county of Galway; Forthill, in the county of Mayo; and Doraville, in the county of Clare. The other

principal families now existing, are those of Emmell, in the King's County; Thurles, Ballingarry, Nenagh, Littlefield, and Annemead, in Tipperary; Rockfield, in the county of Wicklow; and Coolroe, &c. in the county of Carlow. John Carroll of Stephen's-green, Esq. late M.P. for New Ross, is the representative of this last family. Owen Carroll represented the King's County, in king James's parliament in 1689.

ELY O'CARROLL.

“Ely, or Helia, an extensive district comprehended in the present King's County, and the antient patrimony of the distinguished tribe of the O'Carrolls, from whom, as being lords paramount of the district, it was called *Eile ui Chearbhaill*, (Ely O'Carroll) is generally supposed to derive its name Ely from *Eile Righdhearg*, (Ely red-arm) the eighth in descent from the celebrated Olioll Olum, king of Munster, who, according to the annals of the Four Masters, died A. D. 234, and *Sadhbh*, (Sawv,) daughter of Conn, of the hundred battles, monarch of Ireland. In this opinion concur almost all our antient genealogists, as does also the learned O'Flaherty, in his *Ogygia*; yet, there is reason to believe that this opinion is not well founded. In an antient vellum MS. in my possession, in the hand writing of Adam

O'Cianan, (O'Keenan), a celebrated Irish antiquary, we are told that the districts of Ely and Owny were so named from *Eli* and *Uaithne*, (Ely and Owny) two daughters of Eochaidh, (Eohy) son of Luchta, king of Munster, one of our antient lawgivers, who flourished about the time of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. The author describes these districts as lying east of the Shannon, stretching from north to south; and he tells us that he copied the article "from the book of his great master, John O'Dugan." This John O'Dugan was the chief poet of the O'Kellys, of Hy Maine, and a famous astronomer, topographer, and historian, who died A. D. 1372. To those who know the works and the reputation of O'Dugan, as an Irish scholar and antiquary, little doubt will be entertained of his credibility, and Adam O'Keenan was a writer of nearly equal celebrity with his master. The authority of these writers, even with those who do not know their real merits, must have the more weight, when we consider that Ely O'Carroll comprehended but a small portion of the antient Ely. We find adjoining to Ely O'Carroll, on the south, the territory of the O'Fogartys, called *Eile ui Fhogartaigh*, (Ely O'Fogarty) now comprised in the modern baronies of Upper Ormond, and Eliogurty, in the county of Tipperary, the latter of which baronies still preserves the antient

name. Again, on the east of Ely O'Carroll, we find *Eile ui Mhordha*, (Ely O'Morha) part of the antient inheritance of the eminent family of the O'Mores, princes of Leix, in the present Queen's County. That the district of Ely was known by that name long before the birth of *Eile Ridhearg*, one of O'Carroll's ancestors, from whom it is supposed, as above mentioned, the name of Ely was derived, is further confirmed by the fact, that our antient historians, when treating of the reign of the monarch, Cormac Mac Art, tell us, that when that prince applied to Teige, son of Cian, son of Olioll Olum, for assistance against Fergus, black-tooth, the usurper of his throne, Teige was then in great power and authority, "*in the territory of Ely.*" Now *Eile Ridhearg* was the sixth in descent from Teige; therefore, the district in which Teige lived in such power, and which was *then* called Ely, could not be so called from Eile *Ridhearg*, who did not live for six generations after the time that Teige flourished. As a further proof that O'Dugan and O'Keenan were right, with respect to the origin of the names and the situation of the districts of *Eli* and *Uaithne*, (Ely and Owny) we see the latter name still preserved in the present barony of Owny, in the county of Tipperary, situate as described in O'Keenan's MS. written long before Ireland was divided into baronies.

“But whether the district of Ely derived its name from *Eli*, the daughter of Luchta, king of Munster, or from *Eile Ridhearg*, the prince of that district, and ancestor of the family of the Leinster O’Carrolls, is but of little consequence to that celebrated tribe. It is indisputable that they were, in very early ages, the supreme princes of the entire district; and in more modern times, when surnames became hereditary, gave their patronimic name to that part of the district which they then possessed, and which, from that circumstance, was called Ely O’Carroll. When they were kings of the entire district, and even since they became lords of Ely O’Carroll only, they had under them several very famous tribes, of which the O’Meaghers, and the O’Delany’s were not the least eminent. Of the patriotism, piety, and prowess of the chiefs of the O’Carrolls of Ely, the annals of Ireland teem with abundant proofs.”

Such is the account given of the district of Ely, by Edward O’Reilly, whose great learning, and valuable MSS. in the Irish language, eminently qualify him to give us correct information on matters of Irish antiquities, in addition to which, I have only to say, that in 1621, the territory of Ely O’Carroll was then found, by inquisition, to consist of the pasture lands of Ballycrinass,

Rosscullenagh, and Drumcan, extending to the lake of Laghagh, commonly called Laghaghirisal-live, and bounded on the west by the lands called Laghengarken, and on the east joining or near Clencrokin, was always called Ely O'Carroll, and had never been measured or surveyed. The mountain land was found to extend from the lake of Laghangerah, to a hole called Polle Dowa, and from thence, in a south easterly direction, to the Slieve Bloom mountains, which are the limits between Ely O'Carroll and upper Ossory, and meet at a village called Garryvoe, or Scully's land.

O'CARROLL'S TREATY WITH HENRY VIII.

“Concordia facta inter Regem et O'Karroll Capitaneum patriæ Ely O'Karroll.

“Hæc Indentura facta XII. die Junii, anno XXXmo Illustrissimi Domini Regis Henrici Octavi, inter potentissimum et metuendissimum dominum nostrum Henricum octavum, ex una parte, et Fergonamuin O'Karroll nunc principalem capitaneum patriæ Ely-O'Karroll, ex altera parte, testatur, concordatum, concessum, et conventum fore inter dictum illustrissimum dominum regem nostrum et prefatum Fergonamuin O'Karroll, per præsentem, et predictus Fergonamuin O'Karroll

concedit, pro se et hæredibus et successoribus suis, O'Karolls, quod ipsi, et eorum quilibet, qui erunt capitanei dictæ patriæ *Ely O'Karroll*, durantibus vitis suis naturalibus, solvant, aut solvi faciant, dicto serenissimo regi nostro, hæredibus et successoribus suis, Angliæ regibus, duodecim denarios de quâlibet carucatâ terræ infra dictam patriam *Ely O'Karroll*, et eosdem denarios solvendos esse subthesaurio, aut generali receptori dicti serenissimi regis nostri, infra hanc terram Hiberniæ, vel talibus, quibus ille ordinabit pro receptione ejusdem, ad usum dicti domini nostri potentissimi, heredum et successorum suorum, simul in anno ad festum sancti Petri ad vincula.

“Præterea prefatus Fergonamuin O'Karoll, per presentes, concedit prefato domino regi, pro se, heredibus et successoribus suis O'Karolls, qui erunt capitanei dictæ patriæ *Ely O'Karroll*, deputato domino regis pro tempore existente, quam sæpè quotiescunque ipsi, et eorum quilibet, erunt facti, sive nominati, capitanei, aut facti *the O'Karroll*, solvent pro prædictâ suâ nominatione ad eundem dominum regem centum et viginti bonas et legales marcas.

“Præterea idem Fergonamuin O'Karoll per præsentem concedit eidem domino regi, pro se hæredibus et successoribus suis *O'Karolls*, quod

ipsi et eorum quilibet, qui erunt O'Karolls, et capitanei prædictæ patriæ Ely O'Karoll, invenire debent regis deputato, pro tempore existenti, ad omne commune viagium, anglice vocatum *a general hosting*, quod erit constitutum per regis deputatum et concilium, duodecim bonos et legales equestres, et viginti quatuor bonos et legales turbarios, benè ornatos, secundum formam belli, cum victualibus quodraginta dierum, pro dictis equestribus et turbariis, ac ex sumptibus et expensis suis propriis, attenderent et inservirent domino deputato ad ejus mandatum et voluntatem.

“*Insuper*, dictus O'Karoll concedit, et admittit pro se, hæredibus et successoribus suis O'Karolls, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet, pro tempore existente, cum totâ suorum potentiâ, venient ad regis deputatum, pro tempore existente, ad quodlibet viagium, aut parvum iter, quando ipsi et eorum omnes sic erunt requisiti, post rationabilem monitionem, cum victualibus trium dierum ex eorum propriis sumptibus et expensis.

“ Ulterius præfatus O'Karoll concedit, pro se, hæredibus et successoribus suis, O'Karolls, dictæ patriæ Ely O'Karoll, quod regis deputatus pro tempore existente habebit victualia in dicta patria Ely-O'Karoll, per collectionem dicti O'Ka-

roll, ibidem pro tempore existente octaginta *sparrorum*, alias dictorum, octaginta *galloglasses*, quolibet anno, per spatium unius quarterii anni annuatim, durante vita eorum cujuslibet.

“ITEM, præterea prædictus *Fergonamuin O’Karoll*, concedit et admittit per præsentem eidem serenissimo domino regi quod Dominus *Leonardus Gray*, nunc regis deputatus *Hiberniæ*, scindet et scindi mandabit aliquam arctam viam, vocatam *a passe*, in dictâ patriâ *Ely O’Karoll*, ad ejus voluntatem.

“PRÆTEREA prædictus *Fergonamuin O’Karoll* concedit eidem domino regi facere viam infra dictam patriam *Ely O’Karoll*, quam dictus dominus *Leonardus Gray* cogitabit bonam pro faciliiori passagio regis bellicorum ac ceterorum regis bellicorum instrumentorum per totam patriam *Ely O’Karoll*, ex sumptibus et expensis suis propriis.

“In cujus rei testimonium sigillum dicti *Fergonamuin O’Karoll* præsentibus est appensum. Datum die et anno suprascriptis.”

THE AMERICAN LEGATION

WASHINGTON, D. C.
JANUARY 10, 1907

TO THE HONORABLE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

SIR:
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th inst. in relation to the matter of the American Legation in Mexico City, and to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Yours obediently,
J. M. [Signature]

Very truly,
J. M. [Signature]



Alless Lithog 32 Dame S.

TOP OF THE CAAH.

THE CAAH.

When I stated, in p. 21, my hope that at some future time I should be enabled to give to the world an account of the interesting O'Donell relique, called "the CAAH," I did not anticipate that my wishes in that respect would have been so speedily gratified: as many reasons, however, concurred to make it highly desirable that a description of that curious piece of antiquity should have a place in this portion of the "Irish Antiquarian Researches," I made an application to its present possessor, Connel O'Donell, Esq. for permission to examine it, and to describe the box and its contents. I cannot sufficiently commend the politeness and liberality with which that gentleman instantly complied with my request, by confiding the box to my care, not only with ample licence to open and examine its contents, but making it his particular request that I should do so, rightly considering that a full description of such a piece of family antiquity, would rather tend to enhance than depreciate its value.

The opening of Pandora's box did not give more evils egress, than a superstitious tradition

had declared would be let loose on the heads of the devoted O'Donells, whenever the contents of the portentous Caah should be developed—when the daring hands of antiquarian curiosity should venture to violate the repose of the holy reliques supposed to be therein contained. Regardless of the injunctions and threats of ignorance, which for more than a century had hermetically sealed it up, under an idea that it contained the bones of St. Columkill himself, and notwithstanding these frightful forebodings, the box was opened and examined in the presence of Sir Capel Molyneux, Mr. O'Donell, and myself, without any extraordinary, or supernatural occurrence, except, indeed, *a heavy shower of hail* which a strong north-west wind drove against the windows of my study.

The contents were found to be a rude wooden box, very much decayed, inclosing a MS. on vellum, a copy of the antient vulgate translation of the Psalms, in Latin, of fifty-eight membranes. It appeared to have been originally stitched together, but the sewing had almost entirely disappeared. On one side was a thin piece of board covered with red leather, very like that with which eastern MSS. are bound. It was so much injured by damp, as to appear

almost a solid mass ; by steeping it in cold water I was enabled to separate the membranes from each other, and by pressing each separately between blotting paper, and frequently renewing the operation, at length succeeded in restoring, what was not actually decayed, to a legible state.

The MS. was originally about nine inches long by six wide. It has been most injured at the beginning ; all the membranes before the 31st Psalm are gone, and the first few of those which remain are much decayed, but they gradually improve in their condition, and the last thirty have only lost their first and last, or top and bottom lines : the last membrane contains the first thirteen verses of the 106th psalm. From the depth of the wooden box, there is no doubt but it once contained the whole psalter. I have collated several of the psalms with the Venetian vulgate before mentioned, and find them to agree nearly verbatim. It contains the singular passage in the 18th verse of the 103d psalm, (104th in the English Bible) after

“ Illic paseres nidificabunt,
Erodi domus dux est eorum.”*

* In the Venetian,—Herodii domus dux est eorum.

Plate VIII. is a fac simile of the writing of the first two verses of the 103d psalm.

I have not been able to find out why it got the name of *Caah*, which is not an Irish word, nor have those learned Irish scholars I have consulted discovered a word from which this name has been formed, unless it is a corruption of the word *cay*, a box.

The *Caah* is a brass box, nine inches and a half long, eight broad, and two thick. Plate VII. is an exact representation (except as to size) of the top, which consists of a plate of silver, richly gilt and chased, rivetted to one of brass. It is divided into three compartments, or rather arches, supported and separated by clustered columns. In the centre is a sitting figure of St. Columba, with his hair flowing over his shoulders, holding up his right hand, of which the third and fourth fingers are folded down; in his left he has a book. The arms of the chair, on which he sits, are curiously carved with eagles' heads. In the right compartment is a figure of a bishop in his full pontificals, with his mitre, holding up his right hand, having the third and fourth fingers folded, and grasping a crozier with his left hand. In the

*Fac simile of the two first verses
of the 103. Psalm in the
Psalter of Columkill.*

Domine anima mea dñō
 & omnia quae intra me sunt nomini dñi eius
 Bene dicit anima mea dñō
 & non obliuiscit omnes retributiones eius

third compartment is a representation of the passion, with a glory round the head, and, as is usually represented, the two Marys, one on each side of the cross. Over the arms of the cross are engraved two birds, apparently doves; these figures are chased in relief. Over the right arch is a figure (also chased) of an angel throwing up a censer, under which is engraved a figure of a priest, holding something like a basket, and above is a grotesque figure, resembling what is called a wyvern in heraldry. Over the left arch is a similar figure, of an angel with a censer, above which is a figure like a wyvern, but with a human face, and below a griffin. Round the whole box is a chased border of about three quarters of an inch wide, on the top and bottom of which are grotesque figures of wyverns, or cockatrices, and lions; and on the sides, oak leaves and acorns: in each of the corners is a setting of rock chrysal: in the centre, at the top, over that part which I shall call the tabernacle, is a chrysal setting, surrounded by ten gems, a pearl, three small shells, a sapphire, and amethysts, all in the rough. Affixed to the right side of the box, at the top, is a silver censer, suspended to a curious flexible chain. On the censer is an inscription in Gothic characters, but so much defaced as not to be legible.

I am inclined to think the silver plate just described, although very antient, to be more modern than the sides and other parts of the box, to which it is also much inferior in point of workmanship; the brass plate, to which it was rivetted, is perforated with many holes, in regular shapes, as if some ornaments had been originally fastened to it, but which have no use whatever with reference to the present plate. For any more minute particulars of the top, I refer to plate VII.

The bottom of the Caah is of brass, plated with silver, exactly like, to speak heraldically, the third and fourth quarters of Dimma's box, see plate VI. round the rim or outer plate is the following mutilated inscription in the Irish character and language :—

Opast do Cathbarr u4 Domnall lay in
depnad in cumta oh c——

*“ Pray for Cathbarr O' Donell, by whom this
cover was made ———*

7 do Yitric mac meic Uoda do migne
——

*“ And for Sitric, the grandson of Hugh, who
made ———*

—μ τυγ δο comarba cenanyr* lay
 in deynad —

*“Gave to the abbot of Kells, by whom was
 made —*

The sides and ends of the box are of brass, and consist of eight pieces, and four connecting plates, joined together like hinges. On the front, in the centre, is affixed a semi-circular piece of silver workmanship divided into four compartments by three pillars ornamented with silver wire, all richly gilt, and which I suppose was intended to represent a shrine, or perhaps the tabernaculum, where the priest deposits the host on the altar. At the bottom is a silver plate, on which is engraved j. h. r. richly gilt. On the right of the tabernaculum are four, and on the left six oblong compartments, divided in pairs, one above the other, and surrounded by silver borders. The centre being richly inlaid with pure gold and chased; the back is also divided into fourteen similar compartments, the ten interior were also richly inlaid with gold and chased; the gold in-laying of two is gone, and, in

* The import of this word is by no means certain. *Kenanus* is Kells.

four others, much injured; the four outer compartments were plated with silver and chased in leaves and flowers. Between each pair of compartments are three silver round headed rivets. The two end plates have been richly enamelled, on which is a silver serpentine pattern, very little of the enamel now remains. At each of the four corners is a hollow pillar, by which the top of the box was fixed to the body with four thick pins, with silver heads, which were so contrived as to be moveable, at pleasure, so as to allow the top to be taken off, in order to get access to the MS. different, in this respect, from all the other boxes. This box has evidently been frequently repaired.

Colonel O'Donell, in 1723, to preserve the box, had a silver case made and placed round it, open at the top and bottom, so as to shew them, but which totally hid the sides. On this case he caused to be engraved the following inscription:—

“ JACOBO 3^o M. B. REGE EXULANTE, DANIEL O'DONEL, IN XTIANISS^o IMP^o PRÆFECTUS REI BELLICÆ, HUIUSCE HÆREDITARII SANCTI COLUMBANI PIGNORIS, VULGO CAAH DICTI, TEGMEN ARGENTEUM, VETUSTATE CONSUMPTUM, RESTAURAVIT ANNO SALUTIS 1723.”

According to the Irish writers, the O'Donell family, of which Columbkil was a member, are descended from Conal Golban, son of Neill of the nine hostages, monarch of Ireland. The said Neill having granted the land now called the county of Donegal to his son Conall, it was denominated after him Tyr-Conall, the land of Conall, and his descendants were called Kinel Conall, or the descendants or tribe of Conall, his son,

Fergus Ceannfadda had many sons, among whom was Sedna, ancestor to the O'Donells, hereafter mentioned, and Felim, who by his wife Aethena, daughter of *Dima Mac Nathi*, a prince of the house of Leinster, was the father of Columba, who was born in the year 521. According to some accounts his first name was Crimthan, which was changed to Columba on account of his kind and amiable manners, resembling a dove in disposition. To this name was added Cell, or Kill, as stated by Bede, on account of the number of churches, or cells, he founded, and to distinguish him from other saints of that name.

The life of St. Columba was written by Adamnan, and also by Manus O'Donell, prince of Tirconnell, in the year 1520, and by many others. The most valuable, because authentic and unques-

tionable information respecting this truly apostolic character, is to be found in the extracts from Bede.

It is my intention to give only a sketch of so much of the history of St. Columba as is necessary to my purpose, with reference to the subject under consideration.

He founded in Ireland, among many other monasteries, that of *Kenanus*, now called Kells, in the county of Meath, and also the Abbey of *Columbkil*, in the Island of Hy, or Iona, which had been granted to him by the king of the Picts; he was the apostle of the northern Picts, whom he converted to Christianity.

It is mentioned of him by Adamnan, and his other biographers, that he transcribed many books. In the account of St. Columba, Langan, in his Irish ecclesiastical history, gives the following statement, ch. xii. p. 14. "This day was on a Saturday; and having expressed his joy at their being a sufficient store of corn for the year, he announced to Diermit, with an injunction of secrecy, that said day would be his last in the world, as he was to be called away the night next after it. The saint then ascended a

small eminence and lifting up his hands, blessed the monastery. Thence returning, he sat down in a hut, adjoining and forming part of the monastery, and occupied himself for some time with *copying part of the Psalter*, and having finished a page with part of the 33d Psalm, he stopped and said, "*Let Baithen write the remainder.*" He breathed his last early on the morning of Sunday the 9th of June 597, in the 76th year of his age.

Lanigan, in chap. xxxii. p. 1. (note 40,) says "Columbkil set a glorious example for his followers, with regard to this occupation, (i. e. transcribing books.) We find him a short time before his death copying a *part of the Psalter*. Adamnan makes mention of a book of hymns and other books, transcribed by him. If we are to believe O'Donell he left 300 manuscripts of sacred books, in his own hand writing. Baithen, one of his chief disciples, and his immediate successor in Hy, having written *a copy of the Psalter*, brought it to the saint, telling him, that it was necessary to have it revised by one of the brethren. Columbkil answered, "Why do you
"give us this trouble? for there is no mistake in
"the whole of it, except that one vowel, *I*, is want-

ing." This shews, how careful they were in rendering new transcripts correct."

It is very singular that the mother of St. Columbkil should have been the daughter of *Dima mac Nathi*. Lanigan says, chap. XI. § VII. note 173, "Adamnan has" *Matrem Aithneam* "nomine, cujus pater Latine *filius navis* dici potest, Scotica vero Lingua *Macanava*," (see the second preface, or the other edition *cap. I.*) This was *only a surname* for his *real name was Dima*." Dr. Lanigan forgot that surnames were not in use in Ireland until the time of Brien Boiroimhe, five hundred years after the period above mentioned. In other Irish authorities this person is distinctly called *Dima mac Nathi*, *Dima the son of Nathi*. And had not the dates rendered it impossible, we might have been led to suppose this Dimma the same person who wrote the other book.

Whether this Psalter is that which was begun by St. Columbkil just before his death, and finished by Baithen, or another copy, written entirely by the saint himself, is a question of difficult solution, but that it was written by him there are good grounds to believe.

Colonel Daniel O'Donell in the inscription on

the silver case which he placed round the box in 1723—calls it the “*hereditary pledge of St. Columbanus.*” “*Hereditarii Sancti Columbani pignoris,*” and the Caah has always been handed down in the O’Donell family, as containing the reliques of the saint.

O'DONELL.

A brief sketch of the history of the powerful and princely family of O'Donell, (whose chiefs have preserved and handed down to the present possessor, the *hereditary pledge* of their great and apostolic relative, St. Columbkille) will not, I trust, be considered irrelevant to our subject, especially as it supplies valuable information at many interesting periods of Irish history, and shews the kind of allegiance and service *demand*ed from the Irish princes by the kings of England at different times, which will be found to be rather the assistance of an ally, than the service due by a vassal.

Sedna, the son of Fergus Ceanfadda, before mentioned, and uncle to St. Columbkille, was ancestor to the sept of the O'Donells.

Cinnfaeladh, the fourth in descent from him, had three sons, Muldoon, from whom the O'Donells, Muriartach, or Muirchertach, ancestor to the O'Boyles, and Fiamhan, of the O'Doghertys of Innishowen.

Muriertach, the eldest son of Cinnfaeladh, the seventh in descent from Sedna, was father of Dalagh, (from whom the O'Donells are sometimes, in the Irish annals, styled *Siol na Dallagh*, the sept of Daly, or O'Dalys) Enaghaine, his eldest son, was father of Donell, from whom this sept took its surname; his great grandson, Cathbarr, was chief of the family in the reign of Brien Boiroimhe, was the first who assumed the name of O'Donell, as chief, and his subjects and sept followed his example. Cathbarr O'Donell, son of Giollachrist, son of the aforesaid Cathbarr, was the chief who had the case, now called the Caah, made to preserve the psalter of St. Columba, as appears by the inscription on the bottom given in p. 114. The seventh in descent from him was Donell More, or Donell, the great, king of Tirconnell from 1241 to 1264, a warlike and successful prince. The 7th of July, 1244, he was requested, by letter from Henry III. king of England, to join the lord justice of Ireland, and his forces, which were to proceed to the king's army in Scotland. The letter is as follows:—

“Rex O'Donel, Regi de Tercunnell, salutem. Cum provocante nos injuria Regis Scotiæ, jam nos preparaverimus insurgere in ipsum, pro pluribus transgressionibus quas nobis fecit ulciscendis, nisi ipsas gratis nobis emendare voluerit, de dilectione vestrâ confidentes, quod in hâc expeditione nostrâ, *auxilium vestrum nobis denegare non velitis*. Vobis

mandamus quatenus unà cum justiciario nostro Hiberniæ, et aliis fidelibus nostris Hiberniæ, qui in proximo, ad partes Scotiæ venturi sunt, ad inimicos nostros ibidem gravandos, talem et tam potentem succursum nobis impendere velitis, personaliter veniendo cum ipsis bona gente muniti, quod in necessitate vestrà ad nos confidentius confugere debeatis. Nosque, pro succursu vestro *ad preces nostras nobis impendendo gratiam quam à nobis petieritis libentiùs vobis teneamus impertiri cum speciali gratiarum actione.* Teste Rege apud Stannford septimo die Julii.*

Similar letters were directed to Phelim O'Connor, *filiò quondam Regis*, O'Neill, O'Reilly, O'Cahan, Magennis, Mac Gilmurri, O'Flinn, O'Brien, Mac Carthy, O'Flaherty, O'Kelly, and other Irish chiefs. Here the king promises a *quid pro quo*; if O'Donell assists him in this juncture, he will be the more ready to render him service in return.

Near the end of his days, Donell More resigned the government, and retired to the monastery of Easroe, where he assumed the habit of a friar, and there died.

His grandson, Hugh O'Donell, prince of Tirconnell, was summoned 22d March, 1313, as follows:—

“Rex dilecto sibi Eth O'Donnuld, Duci Hibernicorum de

* Close roll in the Tower of London.

Tyrconil, salutem. Quia sumus in proficiscendo versus partes Scotiæ ad rebellionem inimicorum Scotorum et rebellium nostrorum cum dei adjutorio reprimendam; Nos, de strenuitate vestra confidentes, vos rogamus attente quatenus ad nos ad partes prædictas adeo viriliter et potenter quo poteritis personaliter accedatis, vel aliquem nobilem de genere vestro mittatis, prout dilectus et fidelis noster Theobaldus de Verdun, Justiciarius noster Hiberniæ, et dilectus clericus noster Alexander Le Connors, vel unus eorum, vos requirent vel requiret, ex parte nostrâ, cum per dilectum et fidelem nostrum Richardum de Burgo, comitem Ultoniæ, quem capitaneum hominum ad arma partium illarum constituimus, ex parte nostrâ fueritis præmuniti, et hoc *sicut nos ac commodum et honorem nostrum et vestrum diligitis nullatenus omittatis*. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium 22 die Martii."

Similar letters were directed to other Irish chiefs. On the 14th of March, in the following year, another letter was directed to him as follows:—

"Rex dilecto sibi O'Donyl, Duci de Tyrconill, salutem. Quædam negotiâ, nos et statum regni nostri intime contingentiâ, dilecti et fidelibus nostris Edmundo le Botiller, Justiciario, Richardo de Bedfordiâ, Cancellario, et Magistro Waltero de Islep, Thesaurario, nostris Hiberniæ, injunximus vobis, ex parte nostrâ, ore tenus exponenda, vos rogantes, quatenus eisdem Edmundo, Richardo, et Waltero, vel duobus eorum, in hiis, quæ vobis dicunt, ex parte nostrâ, super negotiis antedictis, fidem velitis credulam adhibere, et circa directionem et expeditionem eorundem, sicut de vestrâ confidimus amicitia, opem, et operam apponere efficaces, ita quod vestram benevolentiam possimus in effectu operis experiri, et

quod vobis exinde in vestris augendis profectibus debeamus specialius obligari. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium 14^o die Martii."

This letter is directed to the *dux* of Tirconnell. By this we should understand, *general*, or *leader*, and *chief*, not duke. In after times, the O'Donells, and the other Irish chiefs, were called, by the kings of England, lords, and *captains of their nation*.—*Capitanei suæ nationis*.

Tirlogh an Fhiona, (of the wine) became chief of his sept in 1393. He took upon him the habit of friar in the monastery of Easroe, where he died in 1422. He had eighteen sons: Shane, the eldest, having given offence to his father, was banished, and settled in the county of Tipperary, where his descendants still exist.

Niall Garbh, second son of Tirlogh an Fhiona, succeeded his father, as chief, A. D. 1422. During his chieftaincy, he received much opposition from his brother, Neachtan, and was in a state of continued warfare with the English, by whom he was at length made prisoner, and delivered into the hands of the lord justice, Sir Thomas Stanley, A. D. 1434. In 1439, he was carried to the Isle of Man, for the purpose of being ransomed, by his friends, from the English, and, accordingly, one hundred marks were paid

for his freedom, but he died in captivity the same year.

Neachtan, during the captivity of his brother, Niall Garbh, exercised the authority of prince of Tirconnell, and upon his death in 1439, was acknowledged chief. He was killed, A. D. 1452, by Donall and Hugh Roe, the two sons of his brother, Niall Garbh. His death is thus recorded in the annals of the four masters, under the year 1452 :—"Neachtan O'Donell, son of Tirlogh an Fhiona, lord of Tirconnell, Kineal Moain, Innishowen, and the adjacent districts, a valiant and powerful protector, the chief dispenser of war and peace to the north, was killed by the sons of his brother, Niall, in the gloom of the night of the feast of St. Brendan, for he had before then banished from Tirconnell those sons of Niall. Neachtan was sixty years old at the time he was killed."

Rory, son of Neachtan, A. D. 1452, by the aid of his partizans, set himself up as chief, in which he was opposed by Donell, son of Niall Garbh.

Donell, son of Niall Garbh, was elected chief of Tirconnell, in the year 1454, in opposition to Rory, son of Neachtan; but shortly after he was treacherously made prisoner in his own house, by

O'Doherty, and confined in the Castle of the Island. When Rory heard of this, he went with a strong force to attack the castle where Donell was confined, with only a few to guard him. Rory burned the gates of the castle, and set the stairs on fire. Donell begged his keepers to take off his irons, they complied with his request, and he ran up to the top of the castle. Rory saw him, and waited only for the flames to abate, that he might enter the castle and put him to death. Donell, seeing Rory below, took a large stone from the battlements, and threw it down, which, striking the top of his helmet, broke his skull, and he instantly died. Donell was afterwards killed by the sons of Neachtan O'Donell, aided by O'Neill and Maguire, on the 18th of May, 1456.

Tirlogh Cairbreach, son of Neachtan, and brother of Rory, became prince of Tirconnell on the death of Donell, 1456. He was deposed in 1461, by Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garbh, brother of the above mentioned Donell.

Hugh Roe became chief, A. D. 1461. He was deposed on Friday, 7th of the calends of June, 1497, in consequence of a disagreement between his sons. His son, Conn, was set up in his place, on the following Tuesday, against his brother,

Hugh Oge. Conn was killed on the 19th of October following, and Hugh Roe again became chief, which honor he held till his death in the castle of Donegall, on Friday, the 5th of the ides July, 1505, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the forty-fourth year of his chieftaincy.

Hugh Oge, son of Hugh, succeeded his father, A. D. 1505. In 1510, he went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and left his son Manus in charge of his principality. He spent seventeen weeks in London on his passage to Rome, and seventeen weeks more on his return, in the year 1512, on both which occasions he was entertained with great honors and respect by king Henry. In 1513, he led an army into Scotland, to assist the king thereof. After taking a religious habit in the monastery of Donegall, he died on Thursday, 5th July, 1537, and was there interred with great pomp. This Hugh Oge was also called Hugh Duff, or Black Hugh.

Manus O'Donell, son of Hugh Oge, alias Hugh Duff, succeeded his father in 1537. In 1543, he went, accompanied by his brothers, Enaghaine and Donogh, to Dublin, upon the invitation of the lord justice and council, where they were made prisoners; but, upon their submission, and entering into terms of agreement with the

government, they were soon after liberated. In 1555, he was made prisoner by his son, Calvagh, and kept in confinement in the castle of Liffer, until his death, on the 9th of February, 1563. He was buried in the tomb of his ancestors, in the monastery of Donegall. By his first wife he had Calvagh, hereafter mentioned, and two daughters, Rose, wife of Niall Connellaght O'Neill, and Margery, wife of Shane O'Neill, called Shane *a diomas, or the proud*, son of Con Baccagh, earl of Tyrone. Manus had issue, by his second wife, who was daughter of Shane Maguire, lord of Enniskillen, a son, Manus Oge; and by his third wife, Joan, sister of Con Baccagh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, he had Hugh, afterwards Sir Hugh, Calvagh and Manus.

Hugh O'Donell, the eldest son by the third wife, Joan ny Neill, although junior to Calvagh, was the ancestor of by far the most distinguished branch; he was knighted by Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy of Ireland, 4th April, 1567, at Ballyloghrie, the earl of Clanrickard's house, and became chief of Tirconell on the death of his brother Calvagh, in 1568,* and married Mary,

* See his appointment, or rather confirmation, as chief of his nation, 1574, by the English government, at the end of this article.

or, according to some, *Inghin dubh* (*Inneen duff*), daughter of James Macdonald, lord of the isles, by whom he had four sons, Hugh Roe O'Donell, hereafter mentioned; Rory, afterwards created earl of Tirconnell; Manus; and Calvagh, or Caffer O'Donell, of Caffersconce, in the county of Donegal, who was attainted, with his brother Rory, by act of parliament in 1612. This Calvagh married Rose O'Doherty, (who, after his death, became the wife of the celebrated general of the Irish army, Owen O'Neill) by whom he had two sons, Caffer Oge, and Hugh, which last was buried with his mother at Brussels. The daughters of Sir Hugh O'Donell were, Joan, wife of the celebrated Hugh, earl of Tyrone; ———, first wife of O'Rorke, and afterwards of Gerald Nugent, brother of Richard lord Delvin; ———, wife of her cousin, Niall Garbh O'Donell; and ———, wife of Cormac O'Neill, brother of Hugh earl of Tyrone. Sir Hugh O'Donell was always faithful to the English government. On the rebellion of his son, Hugh Roe O'Donell, in 1592, he resigned, or was deposed, from his government, and shortly after died.

As Hugh Roe, otherwise *Red Hugh*, O'Donell, prince of Tirconnell, was one of the most extraordinary men that Ireland, or any other country has produced, I shall not apologize for entering

somewhat at length into his history—it forms that of Ireland during his life; besides the following account is derived from a MS. in the Irish language, written by the historian of the O'Donnells, and consequently the *Irish account* of those transactions. Red Hugh was born about the year 1571, and given in fosterage to the O'Dogherty of the day, chief of his tribe, who, in common with the O'Donnells, and several other illustrious northern families, was descended from Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the nine hostages, monarch of Ireland.

In the early infancy of Red Hugh, he displayed considerable signs of genius and independent spirit, which increased with his years. The frame and symmetry of his body was of the finest description; before he attained the age of fifteen, his talents, his spirit, his courage, his literary acquirements, and the beauty of his person, were the admiration of all that knew him, and were the subject of conversation all through Ireland. He had also expressed a decided animosity to the English Government. This report of the young O'Donnell was carried to Sir John Perrott, then lord justice of Ireland. Jealousy and fear of the extraordinary qualifications of the presumptive heir of the chief of Tirconnell, were excited to the highest degree; and although his

father, Hugh, the then chief, was at that time friendly to the English, and their ally against the O'Neills, they determined upon getting young Hugh into their hands, by fair or foul means. But, as they saw no chance of securing him by friendly measures, they devised a plan to seize upon him, by a piece of treachery, unworthy of Sir John Perrot, and disgraceful to his government.

To put this design into execution, about Michaelmas, in the year 1587, they fitted out a ship, in which they stowed a quantity of Spanish wines, and other foreign liquors, and directed the captain to sail to any of O'Donell's harbours, where they thought he would be most likely to accomplish their object, and there, under the appearance of Spanish merchants, offer their wines for sale, and endeavour to decoy the young O'Donell on board their vessel, secure his person, and bring him a prisoner to Dublin. In obedience to this command, the vessel put to sea, and made a safe voyage to Lough Swilley, in Tirconnell, where they came to an anchor, a short distance from the land, opposite the castle of Dundonald, near the church of Rathmullin.

Upon the arrival of the ship, the captain sent some of his people on shore, disguised as Spa-

niards, with a quantity of wines, which they exhibited as samples of what they said they had on board to dispose of. The people of the fortress proceeded immediately to traffic; they were received in the most friendly manner, and drank until they became intoxicated. The people of the adjoining district followed the example of those of the fortress, and were similarly treated.

While these things were going on, Hugh Roe, accompanied by several of the young nobles of the country, came on a visit to Mac Sweeny, the lord of the castle. Upon which, the spies instantly returned to their vessel with the intelligence. But, before their departure, Mac Sweeny, anxious to treat, as respectfully as he could, the son of his chief, and his associates, sent to purchase some of the wine from the pretended merchants. They replied, they had no more wine on shore with them, nor did they intend to land any more; but added, if the young gentlemen, who had arrived, would accompany them to their ship, they should receive every respectful attention, and be entertained with wine as long as they chose to remain.

Young O'Donell was desirous to go on board the vessel, and, as Mac Sweeny had not wine to

entertain him, he advised him to do so. This advice was followed, and Red Hugh, and his companions, accompanied by Mac Sweeny, took a boat, and rowed to the ship. The captain, perceiving that young O'Donell was in the company, welcomed them, but would suffer him, Mac Sweeny, and a few others only, to go on board. They were brought down to the cabin, and wines and strong drink placed before them ; and, whilst they cheerfully regaled themselves, their arms were stolen away from them, the hatches shut down, and being, by a number of well-armed men, driven into a corner of the cabin, they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners. Thus was the design of Sir John Perrott and the English council accomplished. But, though it was lauded by the biographers of the lord justice, as an instance of great wisdom, whereby one, who might be a troublesome enemy to the Queen, was secured and brought under the power of the English government, without any greater expense than a few bottles of wine, it was, eventually, most injurious to the English interest in Ireland, as it was the means of driving them almost completely out of Ulster and the north of Connaught ; and the cause of the invasion of Ireland by the Spaniards, in the year 1601.

As soon as the captain had got Red Hugh,

then not exceeding sixteen years of age, in his power, he stood out to sea. The people on the shore, having no boats or vessels, were obliged to remain idle spectators of the treachery practised on their beloved young chief; but before they had completely cleared Lough Swilly, Owen Oge, Mac Sweeny *na ttuagh*, (of the battles axes) sent on board, offering a ransom for O'Donell, and pledges and hostages for his liberation; but the vessel cleared the harbour and proceeded to Dublin, where she arrived in safety.

Upon the arrival of Hugh Roe in Dublin, he was brought before the council, who had been specially summoned for that purpose. Here he underwent a long examination, after which he was committed a close prisoner to a tower in the castle of Dublin, where he was treated with great severity and loaded with irons.

Young O'Donell continued in captivity for the space of three years and three months. Towards the end of the year 1591, he, and some of his fellow-prisoners, before they were locked up in their cells for the night, found means to get off their irons, and, by the aid of a rope, descended from the top of the tower down upon the draw-bridge, and made their escape. They directed their course to the mountains, and had reached a

wood at the foot of the red mountain, Fassaroe, (*Fasach ruadh*) before morning. Beyond this Hugh was unable to proceed. His old worn-out shoes had fallen from his feet, which were dreadfully bruised and lacerated by the rough stones, and the furze and briars of the mountains over which he had travelled in the night. Here his companions, for their own safety, were, reluctantly, compelled to leave him. He had, however, with him a faithful servant who had assisted him and his companions in their escape. This man he sent to a gentleman in that neighbourhood, named Felim O'Toole, who had been a fellow prisoner with him in the castle of Dublin, but who had made his peace with the English government, and procured his liberty. Before his liberation he had professed great friendship for Red Hugh, and they pledged themselves to mutually assist each other whenever they had the power. From this person O'Donell now expected protection, and to claim it he sent his servant to him. Felim O'Toole promised the required assistance; but, upon consulting with his brother, they were of opinion, if they assisted O'Donell, they would bring upon themselves the vengeance of the English Government. They, therefore, agreed that it would be better for them to seize upon him, bring him a prisoner to Dublin, and again give him into the hands of the council. This they executed, and poor

Red Hugh again found himself in the power of his enemies, who again loaded him with chains, and consigned him to a more rigorous imprisonment.

In this confinement he continued another year ; but, at Christmas, in 1592, he again found means to make his escape, accompanied by Henry and Arthur, two sons of John, son of Conn *Bacagh* O'Neill, who were his fellow prisoners. In this escape they were assisted by a trusty servant who promised to meet them when they should get out of the castle. By the means of this servant they procured a rope, and with it let themselves down through the funnel of the privy, in the wall of the tower, into the Poddle, which river inclosed the castle on that side. On getting clear of the city, they made towards the mountains, and again reached Fassaroe ; but he took care not to entrust himself again in the hands of the O'Tooles. In the darkness of the night, and in the swiftness of their flight, they separated from Henry O'Neill, the elder of the two brothers. Though much grieved at this, they still continued their flight, intending to proceed, if possible, to Gleann Maolughra (Glenn Molaur) the strong hold of Feagh Mac Hugh O'Byrne, then in arms against the English. At night there was a heavy rain, which changed to snow, driven by a high, piercingly cold, wind. Arthur O'Neill was

heavy and corpulent, and became so fatigued that he was unable to walk—young O'Donell and his servant were, therefore, obliged to carry him as far as they were able. But they soon became tired, and were compelled to stop under the shelter of a projecting rock. From this place they sent the servant to Glenn Molaur to inform Feagh Mac Hugh of their situation. Feagh, upon hearing the servant's report, sent some of his people with clothes and refreshments to their relief; but, upon coming to the place where the servant had left them, they could not find them, they being completely covered up with the snow. Arthur O'Neill was dead, and Red Hugh was much exhausted. At length he recovered a little, and O'Byrne's men carried him with them to Glenn Molaur, where he remained for a considerable time before he was able to mount a horse to proceed to his own country; his feet having been so severely frost-bitten, he lost the use of his two great toes, which he never after recovered.

When he was able to ride, he and his faithful servant, Torlogh *buidhe* (yellow) O'Hogan, were supplied with horses by Feagh Mac Hugh, who also sent a troop of horse to pass them safely across the Liffey; for the English, to prevent their getting to the North, had placed guards at all the bridges and fords of that river,

wherever they could. The fugitives, however, got safely over, and through Meath, to the Boyne, near Drogheda, which river they crossed in a fisherman's boat, as the town was in possession of the English. The fisherman, having ferried them over, returned for their horses, which he brought through Drogheda to where he had left them on the north side of the river. After rewarding the fisherman, they remounted, and coming to Dundalk, passed through the town at full gallop. They then went on to Dungannon, the residence of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tirone, who kindly, but privately, for fear of the English, entertained them for four days and nights. Thence they proceeded to the borders of Lough Erne, to the residence of Hugh Maguire, who was the attached friend of Red Hugh, and his brother by the mother's side. From the mansion of his half-brother, young O'Donell went in a boat to Athseanaigh (now Ballyshannon) in the castle of which, his father, Hugh O'Donell, prince of Tirconnell resided.

Upon the arrival of red Hugh in his native country, he was elected chief of his name, by the heads of all the different septs of the O'Donells, the O'Doherty's, O'Boyles, Mac Sweeney's, and others, at the request of old Hugh O'Donell, he being advanced in years, and

having surrendered the government of his principality in favour of his son.

It would far exceed the limits of an essay of this kind to enter into a detailed account of the attacks made on the territory of Tirconnell by the English, at the commencement of Red Hugh's management of the affairs of that country, or of the repulses which he invariably gave them, or the assaults he made upon the English, and their Irish allies, in return. These highly interesting events will be given at large in the "HISTORY OF RED HUGH O'DONELL," now translating by Mr. Edward O'Reilly, for publication. I shall, however, mention some of the most important acts and transactions of Red Hugh's life:—

A. D. 1592. In February, this year, the English, under captains Willis and Convill, having taken possession of the convent of Donegal, and the neighbouring country, and possessed themselves of a castle belonging to O'Boyle; Red Hugh expelled them both, and compelled them to leave all their baggage, &c. behind them.

On the 3d of May this year, he was solemnly inaugurated and proclaimed *the* O'Donell; shortly

after which he led his troops three times into Kinel Owen, (Tir Owen) against Tirlogh Luineagh O'Neill, then chief of his tribe, and in favour with the English, who abetted him against Hugh, Earl of Tirone, his kinsman, of whom the English were particularly suspicious. In these excursions O'Donell defeated the O'Neills, and their English auxiliaries, wherever he met them, and carried off great numbers of cattle and other treasures. In the third excursion he burned, on the 18th of July, the town of Strabane, although the castle was then garrisoned by a strong English force, who did not venture out to oppose him.

In the same year the Earl of Tirone brought about a reconciliation between O'Donell and Sir William Fitz-William, who was then Lord Justice, and head of the British Government in Ireland. The Lord Justice went to Dundalk to meet him, as O'Donell declared he would not go farther south, or put himself in the power of the English. After his reconciliation with the Lord Justice, all those of his people who had stood in opposition to him, immediately submitted to his control.

1593. In January, this year, he determined upon again attacking Tirlogh Luineagh O'Neill,

to expel him from his principality, and compel him to resign the title of O'Neill to Hugh, Earl of Tirone. In this he was successful. In May, Tirlogh Luineagh renounced his connexion with the English, and consented that Hugh O'Neill should have the title of O'Neill; and, at the same time, he entered into an agreement of peace and concord with Red Hugh. O'Donell being now at peace with Tirlogh Luineagh, reduced the whole province of Ulster to acknowledge his superiority, and to pay him tribute.

He sent the R. C. bishop of Killala, as his ambassador, to the King of Spain, to request his assistance to expel the English from Ireland. At the same time he sent messengers into Scotland to hire mercenaries to assist him in the execution of his designs; and he caused his half brother Hugh Maguire, to make an incursion into the province of Connaught, where he defeated Sir Richard Bingham, the governor of the province; on which occasion a young English nobleman, named William Clifford, and several of the governor's cavalry, were killed. In revenge for this, Sir Richard Bingham, at the command of the Lord Lieutenant, with all the forces of Connaught, joined by those of Leinster, Meath, and Munster, under the command of the Earl O'Neill, and the Marshal of Newry, marched to the East

side of Lough Erne, to destroy Maguire's country. To oppose these, Maguire collected all the forces he could, and, on the 6th of October, as the English attempted to cross the river at the ford of Lambs, a dreadful battle ensued between them, in which Maguire was defeated, with great loss. After which the English plundered the country, and left behind them a strong body of their troops, with Conor Maguire, who was then in contention with the chief, Hugh Maguire.

A. D. 1594. The Lord Justice having collected, in the beginning of this year, a great army, unexpectedly attacked and seized on the castle of Enniskillen, and plundered the country; after which he retired, leaving a strong garrison in the castle. As it was O'Donell who had induced Maguire to attack the English in Connaught, which brought upon him the vengeance of the Lord Justice, he resolved on going to his assistance. He therefore assembled his forces, and, in June, marched to Enniskillen, where he laid siege to the castle, which made a vigorous defence. The siege continued from the beginning of June until the middle of August, and the English sent a great force with intent to relieve the castle, but they durst not approach O'Donell's army. In the mean time, O'Donell received intelligence of the arrival of his Scotch auxiliaries

in Lough Foyle ; as it was of importance that he should meet them, he left the principal part of his forces to continue the siege, and, with only one large troop of horse, went to Lough Foyle to meet the Scotch.

The English, being informed of O'Donell's departure, advanced to the relief of the castle of Enniskillen ; Maguire hearing of their march, led a strong party of his own and O'Donell's troops to oppose them. The two parties met at a ford, where a desperate battle ensued, in which the English, and such of the Irish as had joined with them, suffered a signal defeat, leaving behind them, to the victors, most of their horses, and all their baggage and provisions. From the great quantity of biscuits taken here from the English, the ford obtained the name of the *ford of biscuits*. Immediately after this battle, the castle was surrendered to the Irish, and the English army dispersed.

O'Donell, having now no enemies in the field to oppose him, dismissed his Scotch auxiliaries in the month of October, with an agreement that they should again come to him in the beginning of the next summer.

A. D. 1595. After the surrender of the

castle of Enniskillen, by the English, in the year 1594, Red Hugh remained quiet until the month of March, 1595. In the mean time, great numbers of the Irish nobility and gentry of the province of Connaught, who had been plundered by the English, resorted to him, begging his assistance to recover their estates, and revenge themselves upon their enemies. He collected all his forces early in spring, and on the 3d of March crossed, with his troops, the river Samer, (Erne) on his way into the province of Connaught ; and on the 5th, at day-break he arrived at Elphin. Here he dispersed parties over the country to drive off the cattle of the English, and of such of the Irish as had adhered to them. These scouring parties returned to him about noon of the same day, with an immense number of cattle ; and, at the first light next morning, he set out with his army and prey on the way to his own country, by a different route.

Sir Richard Bingham, the governor of the province of Connaught, who was then in Roscommon, with a great number of English troops, had notice of the advance of O'Donell, and sent orders to the officers commanding the English garrisons in Sligo, Ballymote,

Newport, the monastery of Boyle, and Cluain-na-Cashel, to meet him immediately with all their forces at the Boyle, where he went himself with the garrison of Roscommon and a strong body of Irish from Croghan. He chose Boyle as the place of assembly, because he thought he might there best intercept O'Donell upon his return. O'Donell, however, disappointed him, for he crossed the Shannon, into Leitrim, at the ford of Kill Trenain, and thus carried off, without interruption, his prey into Tirconnell.

On the 18th of the following month (April) Red Hugh again led his troops into Connaught, for the purpose of plundering his enemies. Upon this occasion he advanced as far as Longford, and also entered Cavan, plundering, and destroying the country on all sides, with fire and sword. From this excursion he triumphantly returned with great quantities of cattle and other treasures.

About the latter end of May, the Lord Justice, Sir William Russell, led a strong army of English into Tirone, against O'Neill, who had been represented to the Council as having joined O'Donell and the Irish. Upon hearing this Red Hugh instantly marched into

Tyrone, and joined his forces with those of O'Neill, upon which the Lord Justice retreated to Dublin.

In the month of June, Ulick Burke, with twelve of his people, surprised the castle of Sligo, took it from the English, and immediately surrendered it to Red Hugh, to whom it was of the greatest importance.

In the middle of August 600 auxiliaries came from Scotland to O'Donell, under the command of Mac Leod, the chief of Ara. These troops he kept for the space of three months, and, with his own host, led them into Connaught, where all the castles occupied by the English were obliged to surrender to his power, and they plundered and destroyed the country on all sides. The governor of the province, Sir Richard Bingham, unsuccessfully attempted to prevent the return of O'Donell to his own country. Finding that he could not effectually oppose the return of Red Hugh, he laid siege to the castle of Sligo, from which he was obliged to retreat with considerable loss. Shortly after this, O'Donell razed the castle, lest it should be at any other time, seized on by the English. He also razed thirteen other castles, and took hostages

from all those that he suspected might be his enemies. After these exploits he returned home, and stopped to refresh himself and his army, until the month of December.

In these excursions O'Donell received considerable assistance from some of the English tribes inhabiting Connaught, who had joined with the Irish, and were persecuted by the English government. Of these the Burkes were the most numerous, as well as the most powerful. Some of the heads of this tribe were in contention with each other about the chieftry, each claiming the title of Mac William, by which the head of the family was always distinguished. To settle this difference, which was referred to him, O'Donell proceeded into Connaught in the month of December, and assembled the tribes of Tirawly, who always elected the *Mac William*. In this election, Mac Donell, the Galloglach, Mac Maurice, and O'Mailley, supported the claims of William Burke, of Shrule, as the senior of the tribe; but Mac Costello, and Mac Siurdan, contended that Theobald, son of Walter Kittagh, son of John, son of Oliver, was most proper to be their chief, for he was always in the country and ready to assist them both night and day, whether his forces

were few or many. The opinions of both parties being laid before O'Donell, he decided in favour of Theobald, son of Walter Kittagh, who was thereupon declared the Mac William, and solemnly inaugurated.

Red Hugh spent his Christmas in that part of Connaught, and at that time caused Tiege, son of Tiege the swarthy, son of Owen O'Dowd, to be proclaimed chief of Tir Fiachrach ; and gave the title of O'Kelly to Ferdorcha, son of Ceallaghan, son of Donald, son of Hugh. He also gave the title of Mac Dermott, of Moylurg, to Conor, son of Teige, son of Owen ; of Mac Donough, of Tir Oliolla, to Maurice, the blind, son of Teige ; of Mac Donough of Corann, to Rory, son of Hugh ; and of O'Hara Riabhach, to Felim, son of Corcashel. He also fixed O'Rourke and Mac Dermott in their respective patrimonies, they having been expelled by the English ; and not to those only, but to every one of the Irish of Connaught who were similarly circumstanced, he rendered the like service.

A. D. 1596. After performing what we have above related, Red Hugh returned to his own country, and on his way crossed the river Sligo on 15th January. In the month of May,

Don Alonzo Copis, an emissary from Philip III. King of Spain, arrived in the harbour of Killibegs, and was conducted across the Bearnos More to Lifford, where O'Donell then was, to whom he was sent by his master the King of Spain, who wished to be fully informed as to the state of Ireland and the feelings of the Irish people. O'Donell received him with becoming honour, and gave him the information he required. He also wrote letters by him to the King of Spain, in behalf of himself and O'Neill, and of the Irish in general, begging that Monarch to send them the aid of men, arms, and military stores, to extricate them from the bondage of their English oppressors, who, not satisfied with stripping them of their patrimonial estates, now wanted to rob them of their religion.

Shortly after the beginning of June, O'Donell received a messenger from Mac William, to inform him that Sir John Norris, queen Elizabeth's general, was assembling a powerful army on the borders of Connaught, with intent to reduce the whole province to subjection. Upon this occasion the English were joined by the earls of Thomond and Clanrickard, with all their forces; and it was said that there never had been assembled against the

Irish so powerful a force as was then ready to pour into Connaught. Before the arrival of the messenger, O'Donell had his troops assembled, and, upon hearing of the collecting of the English army, he wrote letters to all the chiefs of Connaught, telling them that he would soon march to their assistance, and requesting them to be ready with all their forces, to co-operate with him against their common enemy. He instantly put his troops in motion, and crossing over the rivers Erne and Sligo, and passing to the left the borders of Slieve Gamh, through Lerighne and Gaileng, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Sir John Norris, and threatened to plunder and destroy the country, if the people did not deliver him pledges and hostages for their submission.

Upon O'Donell's arrival, he was almost immediately joined by the principal of the Connaught chiefs, with all their forces, and by the Burkes, and some others of the old English who had joined with Mac William. At length the English general, despairing of success, suddenly retreated.

When the council at Dublin saw that the military skill and confidence of the Irish were increasing, and having heard of their treaty with the

king of Spain, and considered on the little probability there was of subduing them by main force, they sent messengers to O'Neill and O'Donell, offering them terms of peace. The messengers sent to negotiate, were Meyler M'Grath, the first protestant archbishop of Cashel, and Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond. These ambassadors proceeded as far north as Dundalk, from which place they sent a messenger to O'Neill and O'Donell, to invite them to meet them in friendly conference, to arrange all matters and to bring about a general pacification, for the mutual benefit of the contending parties. In consequence of this invitation, O'Neill and O'Donell went to Fochart, in the county of Louth, where they were met by the archbishop and the earl, who proposed the terms and conditions of the peace: which were, that the English should retain the possession of the part of Ulster lying between the river Boyne and Dundalk, which they had been possessed of for a long period, but that they should not have any lands further to the north, except Carrickfergus, Carlingford, and Newry, then in their hands. In return they stipulated that they should be for ever free from any taxation or plunder from the Irish. They also offered to engage, that the English government, should not send any officer as governor over the Irish of Ulster, nor

in any way force rent or taxes from them, except such as their ancestors used to pay, which the Irish should send to Dublin at the usual time of payment; and for the performance of this no pledges or hostages should be required. They further engaged that the Irish of Connaught, who had joined with O'Donell and O'Neill, should share the benefits proposed by the treaty.

When O'Neill and O'Donell heard these proposals, they retired to consult; and agreed that it would be better for them, now that they had arms, and were strong and successful, to fight for their independence and that of their countrymen, who looked upon them as the guardians of their civil and religious liberties. This decision, and the terms proposed by the English, they submitted to the other Irish chiefs who had joined with them, and it was the general opinion, that no reliance could be placed on the English, who, as usual, would take the first opportunity to break through the treaty; and they therefore advised that an end should be put to the negotiation. Some few, however, of the Irish chiefs, were for accepting the proposed terms.

The lord justice and council, finding themselves disappointed in this negotiation, sent the intelli-

gence to the queen and the English council, who mustered an army of upwards of twenty thousand men, and sent them well equipped into Ireland. The governor and president of the province of Connaught, Sir Richard Bingham, who was particularly odious to the Irish, was removed from that office, and in the month of December, Sir Conyers Clifford was appointed in his stead. This gentleman, by his noble and generous conduct, won several of the Connaught chiefs to join him, and they hired themselves to him as stipendiaries to serve against O'Donell. O'Connor Sligo also came from England, where he was in favour with the queen, to raise his people to aid the governor.

When Red Hugh heard of the defection of the Connaught chiefs, and the arrival of O'Connor Sligo, he marched into Connaught, plundered his enemies of all their cattle, and encamped in Briefne until his forces came to him from every quarter where they had been dispersed.

Anno 1597. When all Red Hugh's troops had assembled in the month of January, he led them through the country, to the centre of Hy Maine, and sent out scouring parties on all sides, who brought to him, to the town of Athenry, a great number of prisoners, and a vast quantity of

cattle and other valuable spoils. Here he was joined by Mac William Burke. The town of Athenry was a place difficult of access, with a strong castle, which he was determined to take. He set fire to all the gates, and raised ladders to the walls, by which his men entered the town on all sides, and although both it and the castle were well defended by the queen's garrison, the Irish entered the castle, and completely destroyed the interior, having first taken thereout immense treasure, and great quantities of brass, iron, armour, arms, clothing, and every thing that could be useful to those who possessed it, and who had been collecting them for a long time previous. After this, they burned and destroyed all the surrounding country, as far as the walls of Galway. Before his return to his own country, he fell in with O'Connor Sligo and a strong army of English and Irish, whom he defeated with great slaughter. He then returned into Tirconnell, and dispersed his troops to refresh themselves after their fatigue. After these severities, several of the Irish chiefs who had joined with the English, renounced their connection with them, and joined with O'Donell.

In the month of April, a ship arrived in the harbour of Killibegs from Spain, with supplies for O'Donell, and having on board confidential persons

to hold a conference with him on the state of Ireland. These he entertained with great honor, and presented them with several valuable horses and hounds. They then returned to their own country, well pleased with their reception.

In the month of June, Theobald, son of Walter Kittagh Burke, who had been appointed the Mac William, by the aid of O'Donell, was expelled from his territories by O'Connor Sligo, and his kinsman, Theobald *na Long* (of the ships) Burke, who was set up as the Mac William: upon which Theobald, son of Walter Kittagh, went to Tirconnell to complain to O'Donell, who thereupon collected his troops, and, about the end of June, led them into Connaught, where he reinstated Mac William in his territories notwithstanding the opposition of O'Connor Sligo, and Sir Conyers Clifford. Red Hugh then returned to Tirconnell, leaving his brother Rory with a strong party of infantry in Connaught.

On the departure of O'Donell for Tirconnell, Sir Conyers Clifford collected all the troops he could to support O'Connor, and that party of the Burkes who opposed Red Hugh. To the assistance of Sir Conyers came Ulick, earl of Clanrickard, and his son Richard, baron of Dunkellin, Donogh O'Brien, earl of Thomond, and

Morogh O'Brien, baron of Inchiquin, with all their forces. Being assembled, they proceeded to attack Mac William and Rory O'Donell, who, having intelligence of their movements, collected the cattle of the county, and, though but few in number, compared to the English and their adherents, succeeded in driving them off into Tirconnell, but not without some loss of men.

Thomas Lord Borough, who had come into Ireland in the beginning of June, as lord justice, brought with him a numerous army. He removed Sir John Norris from the command of the army, and having assumed it himself, sent orders to Sir Conyers Clifford to march into Tirconnell with all his forces, to destroy and plunder that district. To aid Sir Conyers in this enterprize came all the chiefs above mentioned, together with Theobald na long Burke, O'Connor Roe, and some other Irish chiefs. The lord justice also sent a great number of his forces to Galway with some cannon, to proceed coastways and meet Sir Conyers at the Samer. (Erne)

When the army had assembled at Boyle, the place of rendezvous, they amounted to twenty-two regiments of infantry and ten regiments of cavalry, armed with coats of mail, and all arms,

ammunition, and other necessaries. They then marched to Sligo and thence to Erne, and crossed that river by a ford, where they were vigorously opposed by O'Donell's troops, and where Morogh, baron of Inchiquin, was killed by a musket ball. Thence they marched to Easroe and placed their head quarters in the monastery of that place. Here they received heavy ordnance from the ships that had come from Galway, and had now cast anchor opposite the island of Samer. They laid close siege to the castle of Ballyshannon, but met an unexpected resistance, and had numbers of their best troops and officers killed or wounded. They came before the castle on Saturday, and on the Thursday following were compelled to make a precipitate retreat, with immense loss, and were closely pursued by O'Donell, and his friends, who were daily coming from all quarters to his assistance. In this retreat the English army were unable to cross the Samer by the same ford, but tried another, seldom attempted, where numbers were killed, and several drowned. The remains of the army after this disastrous expedition, arrived at Athleague on the 15th of August.

Red Hugh, not long after, received intelligence from O'Neill, (the earl of Tyrone,) that the lord justice was on his march with a powerful army to attack him; upon which he again collected his

forces, and marched to the assistance of O'Neill, and joined that chief before the English could reach his territories in Armagh. The two armies met at a ford on the Avonmore, where the earl of Kildare, who was with the lord justice, was killed, and the English army defeated. The lord justice baffled in his intentions, and severely wounded, returned towards Dublin; he was carried in a litter, not being able to ride, and died of his wounds in Newry. In this battle was also killed, the brother-in-law of the lord justice. After the victory, O'Donell led his troops back to his own country in triumph.

Red Hugh remained not long at home, but again marched into Connaught to plunder and destroy the territories of O'Connor Roe, and others of the Connaught chiefs, who had joined with Sir Conyers Clifford, the governor of the province. In this expedition he succeeded, not leaving his enemies a single head of cattle. He then returned to his own country without any attempt of resistance being made by the governor or any of his opponents, after which he spent the winter in pleasantly enjoying the society of his friends.

Anno 1598. In this year O'Donell again joined his forces with O'Neill, in an attack on the fort of Blackwater. This was a remarkably strong

fortress, and the Irish were not able to take it by force; they therefore surrounded it, in order to starve the garrison into a surrender. To relieve the fortress was an object of importance to the English government; they, therefore, despatched marshal Bagnal, with the flower of the English army, to force O'Neill and O'Donell to raise the siege. The two armies met at the ford of *Ath-buidhe*, (the yellow ford) on the Blackwater, where, after a desperate engagement, the English were totally defeated, leaving the marshal, and the chief of their officers, with vast numbers of their common soldiers, killed in the battle. The treasures that fell into the hands of the Irish after this victory were immense. In a few days afterwards the garrison at Armagh surrendered to O'Neill.

The battle of the Yellow Ford was fought on the 10th of August, and the loss of the English, in common soldiers, was two thousand five hundred killed, besides their general and eighteen officers.

After this battle, Red Hugh returned home, but having received intelligence that the Mac Donoghs of Corann had taken the castle of Ballimote, where, for thirteen years before, they had kept a strong garrison, from which they plundered the adjoining

country, he led his army into Connaught, to prevent the English from re-possessing themselves thereof. The ground on which the castle stood belonged to the Mac Donoghs, and Sir Conyers Clifford, after the castle fell into their hands, not being able to obtain possession of it by force, wanted to recover it by treaty. This the journey of Red Hugh into Connaught prevented, and partly by threats, and partly by persuasions, he prevailed on the Mac Donoghs to sell the town and castle to him and his successors for ever, for four hundred pounds in money, and three hundred cows. The town was accordingly delivered up to O'Donell, and he made it his principal residence during the remainder of his life.

O'Donell and O'Neill now entered into a league with some of the people of Munster, under a branch of the Desmond Fitzgeralds, and with some of the people of Leinster, in connection with the sons of Feagh Mac Hugh O'Byrne.

In September, O'Donell sent an ambassador to Spain, to urge king Philip to send him, and the other Irish princes, ammunition and succours. After this he remained peaceably at home, until the festival of Christmas, when he again assembled his troops, and, at the instigation of Mac William, marched into Connaught and plundered Clan-

rickard. In this incursion, several of the chief followers of the earl of Clanrickard were killed by O'Donell's troops, and others were wounded or made prisoners. O'Donell then carried the spoils triumphantly into Ballimote.

A. D. 1599. Red Hugh having now no district in Connaught which he had not plundered, resolved upon leading his troops into Thomond, to revenge himself upon the Earl of Thomond for joining with the governor of Connaught in his invasion of Tirconnell. He ordered his troops, and those of his allies, to meet him at Ballimote. Having all things in readiness, he marched without delay, and arrived in Thomond on the 17th of February. He then divided his army into separate parties, who spread themselves all over the country, took several of the castles and great houses, amongst which was the castle of Inchiquin, and drove off the cattle of every description, leaving scarcely a single head. The different parties then assembled with their plunder at the place appointed by O'Donell, who led them back without opposition.

From the latter end of February to the month of June, O'Donell remained quietly in Ballimote. About the beginning of June, a

ship, with his messengers, returned from Spain, with arms and necessaries for 2,000 soldiers, which he divided, giving one part to O'Neill, and keeping the other for his own people.

About this time, O'Donell received intelligence that Sir Conyers Clifford, governor of Connaught, was preparing to attack him with a numerous host of English, assisted by O'Connor Sligo, and all his adherents. Upon hearing this, O'Donell sent to his army assembled at Ath Seaneigh, ordering them to come to him to Ballimote without delay, that he might be prepared for the threatened attack, as well as to annoy his enemies.

O'Donell, having heard that O'Connor Sligo was in the castle of Culmine, on the banks of the Avonmore, was resolved to seize him if possible ; for this purpose he ordered his cavalry to proceed with haste, and he surrounded the castle on all sides, so that none could either go in or out.

When the Earl of Essex heard to what great straits O'Connor Sligo was reduced, he was much grieved, and sent to Sir Conyers Clifford to meet him in Ferceall, to consult

upon what was best to be done. The governor went to Ferceall, and there staid in consultation with the Lord Justice for two days. The earl gave the governor what troops he could spare, and ordered him to proceed directly to Athlone, and collect all the English forces, and such Irish in the province as would join with them, and march directly to the relief of O'Connor. At the same time he sent orders that the ships in the harbour of Galway, under the command of Theobald na long Burke, should sail with military stores, &c. to Sligo, to assist the governor in relieving O'Connor and the castle of Culmine.

O'Donell, on the other side, pressed the siege closely, and that O'Connor should not escape from the castle, he gave the command of the troops to Niall Garbh O'Donell, with such instructions as he thought proper to carry his designs into effect. He then led that part of his army, not engaged in the siege, with him up the Curlew mountains, in the expectation that the governor, with his English and Irish army, would come that way to attack him. Here he remained with his army for the space of two months, during which time the governor was collecting his troops.

When Red Hugh found that Theobald na long Burke had sailed from Galway, with the ships to relieve O'Connor, he detached a party of his troops to prevent his landing, and sent other parties to guard the passes of the Curlews, to prevent the governor advancing upon him unawares. By this means the army that remained with himself were much reduced.

The governor having at length completed his preparations, boasted that he would on the 15th of August, (the feast of the assumption) force his way through, and destroy the army of O'Donell. Red Hugh prepared for his reception, and, on the evening before the battle, in as artful a speech, probably, as was ever addressed to an army, excited his people to resist to the last, and to resign their lives sooner than let their inveterate enemies triumph. And that they might be the better prepared for death, he advised his people to go to confession, and in the morning to receive the sacrament. This was accordingly done, and mass was scarcely over when they got notice of the approach of the English. The battle commenced, the order and description of which, it is not necessary to give here, and although the English were much more numerous and better prepared than O'Donell, they were defeated with immense loss. Amongst the slain, on the side of the Eng-

lish, was Sir Conyers Clifford, and several officers of distinction. The loss on the side of the Irish was but trifling. All the treasures of the English fell into the hands of the Irish.

When O'Connor was convinced, by the sight of the head of Sir Conyers Clifford, which was sent to him for the purpose, that the governor was killed, and the English army defeated, he sent a messenger to O'Donell, requesting peace on any terms. Theobald na long Burke, in like manner, hearing of the defeat of the English, and of the surrender of O'Connor and of the castle of Culmine, submitted himself to O'Donell upon his own terms. After this battle, Red Hugh laid the country as far as the gates of Galway, under contribution, and the terror of his name extended from Galway to Leim Cuchullen (Loops Head.)

In the year 1600, O'Neill led an army into Munster, in which he was joined by Hugh Maguire, chief of Fermanagh; who, in a battle near Cork, killed Sir Warham St. Leger, president of Munster, with several of his people. Maguire himself received some desperate wounds of which he, shortly after, died. This compelled O'Neill to return with sorrow to Ulster. Shortly after the return of O'Neill, and the Ultonians, the people of

Fermanagh proceeded to elect a chief in the place of Hugh Maguire. Conor Roe Maguire, brother to O'Neill by the mother's side, was supported by him in his claims to the chieftaincy. Cuchonacht oge, son of Cuchonacht Maguire, was the other candidate, and he sought to interest O'Donell on his side. O'Neill sent letters to O'Donell to request him to consent to the appointment of Conor Roe. When the messengers came to O'Donell, and delivered their letters, he made no answer, but went immediately with a troop of horse, and a body of foot, of the choice of his people, with his brother Rory, and Cuchonacht oge to Dungannon, where O'Neill and his people then were, holding a consultation upon the business. Upon his entering the apartment, O'Neill told them what they were about, that it was his wish that Conor Roe should be proclaimed the Maguire, and hoped that O'Donell would give his consent. O'Donell for some time listened to the words of O'Neill, but, at length, declared that he would never consent that Conor Roe should be the Maguire, because he was always an adherent to the English. O'Neill was much grieved at this declaration of Red Hugh, but he knew there was no resisting his determination.

After the breaking up of the council, they were

entertained at a splendid feast by O'Neill, at which he placed O'Donell in the most honorable situation, and Conor Roe Maguire next to him. O'Neill took a cup of wine in his hand, and drank to O'Donell, who, taking another cup from the butler, cast a quick glance through the room, and not seeing Cuchonacht Oge Maguire, he desired that he should be called in. This was done, and when Cuchonacht came in, Red Hugh desired him to sit down by his brother Rory, in the midst of the company. When Cuchonacht was seated, O'Donell took the cup in his hand, and drank to him by the name of Maguire. This was followed by several others, and thus was Cuchonacht declared the Maguire, which none opposed, seeing it was O'Donell's desire. On the next morning O'Donell bid farewell to O'Neill, and he and Maguire and their people returned to their homes.

When the English government saw that O'Donell defeated their armies, and those of their friends, in every quarter, they resolved upon bringing the war into his own country. For this purpose, ships and troops were sent from England, in March, at the request of lord Mountjoy, then lord justice; and a large fleet, with upwards of six thousand men, well armed and equipped, were assembled in the port of Dublin, in April.

These were put under the command of Sir Henry Dockwra, and leaving Dublin, arrived in Lough Foyle on the 10th of May, and landed in Innisowen, in O'Dogherty's territories. They took possession of the fort of Culmore, which was at that time deserted and in decay, but they erected a strong wall round it. Another party went into O'Cathan's (O'Kane's) country, and took possession of Dun-na-long; but the largest party went to Derry, and seized upon the monastery and stone church, round both which they threw up strong ramparts, and walls of clay and stone, and sunk deep ditches around both. Not long afterwards, they broke down the monastery and the stone church, in derision of the saints and the religion of the country.

The English remained a considerable time cooped up in their forts, not daring to stir out of them, for fear of O'Donell, who watched earnestly for an opportunity to bring them to an engagement. At length, Red Hugh, finding that he could not draw the English out of their inclosures, resolved to leave the defence of Innisowen to O'Dogherty, the chief thereof, and to Niall Garbh O'Donell, with a party of his troops, whilst he, with the main body of his army, should make an irruption southwards, to revenge himself on the earls of Thomond and Clanrickard, for joining

with the English against him. He therefore sent messengers into Connaught, calling the chiefs of that province to his assistance, with all their forces. His summons was obeyed by all the Connaught chiefs between the rivers Suck and Droobhaois, (Brundroose) and from the west of Tirawley to Brefny O'Reilly. In the month of June he set his troops in motion, and passing through Clanrickard, he plundered the country on all sides, and then continued his progress into Thomond, where he plundered and destroyed the country, except the monasteries and religious houses, which he carefully preserved from injury; and, having collected all the cattle, and other treasure of the district, he returned in triumph back. To each chief who joined him in the expedition, he gave their full proportion of the plunder, so that they all returned home well satisfied.

After this excursion, O'Donell suffered his troops to refresh themselves from July till September. He was then informed that the English in Derry used to send out their horses to graze a small distance from the town, guarded by only a few cavalry. He was determined on seizing them, if possible, and for this purpose he sent a select party of his cavalry, under cover of the night, to lie in ambush between the town and

the horses, when they should come out to graze, and at the same time had another party of the elite of his troops ready to drive off the cattle. Every thing succeeded, the cattle came out, and were driven off by O'Donell's people, after dispersing the guard that attended them. The English in the town, seeing their cattle driven off, sallied out to rescue them ; O'Donell expected this, and was watching, with a party of his troops, to succour his drivers. A sharp conflict ensued between the parties, when O'Donell wounded Sir Henry Dockwra, after which the English retired into the town. By this adventure, the English lost upwards of 200 horses. O'Donell waited until the end of October, and then finding that the English did not leave the country, he resolved upon another expedition into Thomond to plunder his enemies.

In pursuance of this design, he collected his troops, and marched southward until he passed the river Sligo, leaving behind him Niall O'Donell. The English had been for a long time, previous to this, endeavouring to persuade this Niall to join with them against Red Hugh, offering him many advantages, the sovereignty or lordship of the country, and immense treasures. He listened to their proposals for a long time, but at length he complied with their wishes, and decla-

red against his lord and chief, and induced his brothers Hugh *buidhe* (yellow) and Conn Oge to join him in his treachery. This was of the greatest importance to the English, who were now worn out and sick with constant night watchings, fear of O'Donell, and the scarcity and bad quality of their provisions. From these difficulties Niall O'Donell relieved them, and he brought 1000 of them to Lifford, nine miles west from Derry, on the same Lough. This had been a noble residence belonging to O'Donell, and was now in decay, the stone castle having been some time before destroyed, and was now only defended by ramparts of earth, and a shallow ditch. The guards of this place, hearing of the approach of the English, and of Niall O'Donell, deserted it, through fear of falling into their hands. Whereupon the English took possession of the fort, and erected strong walls of stone and clay to defend it.

To inform O'Donell of what had happened one of his faithful friends, posted after him. Upon hearing the tidings, Red Hugh was much surprised, and excessively grieved, to think that his cousin and brother should have turned against him, for Niall O'Donell was married to Red Hugh's sister. O'Donell immediately returned to Ulster, and with a few of his troops proceeded to Lifford.

The English being occupied in fortifying the place, had not time to plunder any part of the country, before O'Donell returned ; and, when they heard of his return, their fears of him would not permit them to venture out of the fortress. O'Donell encamped about two miles from the fort, and kept so close a guard, that he suffered none to pass in or out, except such as went south-ward, over the river. In this situation, they remained for the space of thirty days, without being able to bring his enemies to battle. At length O'Donell's troops appeared to be in state of disorder and negligence, in their camp, which Niall O'Donell perceiving, he advised the English to attack them. Thereupon O'Donell was attacked, a dreadful conflict ensued, the end of which was, that the English were obliged to retreat to their fortress. In this battle, Manus O'Donell, the brother of Red Hugh was desperately wounded by Niall O'Donell, who was himself also wounded by Rory O'Donell, (afterwards Earl of Tirconnell.) Manus O'Donell was carried to Donegall, where, after suffering great pain for seven days, he died on the 22d October 1600, and was buried in the tomb of his ancestors in the monastery of Donegall. On the 7th of December following, his father died of grief and old age, and was buried in the same grave with his son.

Red Hugh remained in his encampment forty days more, watching the English, and about Christmas received an account of the arrival of a Spanish ship, with some supplies for him, in the harbour of Invermore, in west Connaught. His spirits revived at this intelligence, and he instantly dispatched messengers to O'Neill to inform him of the arrival of the vessel, and at the same time sent a messenger with letters to the captain of the ship, to sail round to the harbour of Killibeg, in Tir-Boghaine. Amongst other things, the king of Spain sent to O'Neill and O'Donell £6,000 in money, to assist in paying their auxiliaries, for their services. This money the two chiefs equally divided between them, O'Neill having come to Donegall to meet O'Donell and the Spanish ambassador.

A. D. 1601. In the beginning of January, in this year, the Irish chiefs separated after arranging their affairs with the Spanish ambassador, and O'Donell returned to his troops, which he had left to watch the motions of the English, and of Niall O'Donell, at Lifford.

Whilst thus employed he received secret intelligence, from a friend in Dublin, that his old enemy, O'Connor Sligo, had entered into a private treaty with the English government, and engaged to

treacherously seize upon, and to deliver him into their hands, living or dead. This information gave Red Hugh some uneasiness, as he could not tell the full extent of the conspiracy formed against him. He kept the secret to himself for some time, but at length revealed it to O'Neill, and some others of his friends, to have their opinion what he should do on the occasion. These all give it as their decided opinion, that he should seize on O'Connor Sligo, and hold him as hostage for his safety. This was put in execution, O'Connor was secured, and sent in custody to Lough Esk.

In the month of May, 1601, Ulick earl of Clanrickard, died, and was succeeded by his son Rickard. This young man was encouraged by the English, to make an attack upon the territories under the control of Red Hugh, and, to assist him, the lord justice, Mountjoy, ordered the English garrisons in Limerick, Kilmallock, Eas-Geithinne, Galway, Athlone, and several other places, to join the earl at the monastery of Boyle.

As soon as O'Donell heard of the assembling of these troops, he resolved upon opposing them, before they could enter his territories; and, although he was obliged to leave a strong force behind him, to watch the English and Niall O'Donell, at Lifford, and to defend his own fortresses in the Island of

Lough Esk, Donegall, Ballyshannon, Culmore, and Ballimote, he instantly proceeded with the remainder to meet his enemies. The English had advanced as far as Elphin, before O'Donell could come up with them. Here the two armies encamped opposite each other, and, for several days and nights there was a constant skirmishing between them, in which many were killed on both sides, although there was no general engagement. At length the earl and his party decamped, and retreated leisurely, O'Donell not being sufficiently strong to prevent them. O'Donell then returned to Ulster.

The English and Niall O'Donell, in the meantime, taking advantage of O'Donell's absence in Connaught, marched a strong party to Donegall, took possession of that monastery, and of another small monastery in the neighbourhood. Here they were inclosed by O'Donell, in such a manner, that they could not obtain provisions, and their stock being nearly exhausted, they were obliged to send a messenger to Derry, to request the English would send a ship round to them, with a supply of provisions and arms. This was complied with, the ship arrived, and O'Donell, for want of artillery, could not prevent the necessaries being landed. In this condition the two parties remained until about the latter end of September.

At this time a flash of lightning struck a barrel of gun-powder, in the convent of Donegall, in consequence of which, a dreadful explosion ensued, which destroyed numbers of the English. O'Donnell took advantage of the confusion, occasioned by this accident, and attacked the English fortifications, and would have completely destroyed them, had it not been for the succour given them by Niall O'Donnell, and the firing of the ordnance from the English ship in the harbour.

In this situation both parties remained until the middle of October, at which time O'Donnell received intelligence that a Spanish fleet had arrived in the harbour of Kinsale, with troops and arms, to assist the Irish. The Spanish troops took possession of the fort of Kinsale, and of Rincorran, on the opposite side of the harbour. To oppose this invasion of the Spaniards, all the forces of the English in Munster, Leinster, Meath, and Connaught, together with all the forces of their Irish adherents, were mustered by the lord justice, and led by him into Munster, and there joined to the forces under the lord president of that province. The lord justice placed all these under the command of the lord president, to whom, after a short siege, the Spaniards surrendered the castle of Rincorran, after which the English laid a closer siege to Kinsale.

As to O'Donell, when he had received the intelligence of the arrival of the Spaniards at Kinsale, he immediately broke up the siege he had formed against Niall O'Donell, and the English in Donegal, and making little of other considerations, besides, that of going to the assistance of the Spaniards, he sent notice to all, over whom he had influence, to meet him directly with their forces in Ballimote. His friends assembled at the place appointed from all quarters, and on the 2d November, he set out from Ballimote, with his forces, on the way to the relief of his Spanish allies. He proceeded as far as the neighbourhood of Holy-Cross, where he halted for near a month, waiting for the coming up of O'Neill, who was advancing by slow marches. To prevent the further progress of O'Donell, the lord justice ordered the lord president of Munster, Sir George Carew, to advance to meet him with 4,000 armed men. When O'Donell heard from his scouts, that, the lord president had advanced as far as Cashel, he led his army through upper Ormond, and by Limerick, until they arrived in Hy Conal Gabhra, where shortly after, he was joined by several of the Irish chiefs of Munster. He then proceeded to Bandon, where he was joined by O'Neill and his army.

They shortly after pitched their camp near

that of the lord justice, and reduced him to very great straits for want of provisions, but the Irish had abundance of food of the best kind in their camp. Thus all parties spent the Christmas, at which time O'Neill and O'Donell received a letter from the Spanish General, requesting them to attack the English camp, on a certain night then appointed, promising at the same time, that he would attack the camp, in another quarter, with a party of the Spaniards.

Upon this message the Irish chiefs entered into a consultation, in which O'Neill gave his opinion, that they should not attack the English camp, but continue the blockade which they had formed around it, until at length the English should be destroyed by famine, cold, and sickness; and, in the mean time, to let the Spaniards defend themselves, in Kinsale, as they could. O'Donell, on the other hand, was of opinion, that they should comply with the request of the Spanish general, and join with him in attacking the English camp: alleging that it would be a breach of their engagement with the king of Spain, if they were to refuse giving their most active assistance to his troops, which he had sent at their request, and for their relief and protection against their enemies. O'Donell's opinion prevailed, and the attack on the English camp was resolved on.

It happened fortunately for the English cause, that a difference had arisen between O'Donell and O'Neill upon this occasion. Each claimed the honor of leading the proposed attack, and neither would suffer the other to have the sole command, or take precedence. This dispute continued for the greater part of the night in which the attack was to be made, and when they set out, to put their design in execution, each followed his own judgment, and being led astray by their guides, so that they separated in the night, and the sun shone clearly when each party came, unconnected with the other, in view of the English camp.

The lord justice had intelligence of the difference between the Irish chiefs, from some person with whom he had a correspondence in the Irish camp. He was therefore well prepared to receive them, and upon their appearance he opened upon them a tremendous fire, from both ordnance and small arms. The Irish, not acting in concert, retreated separately, and were pursued by the English a considerable distance, with very great loss.

After this defeat, the English returned in triumph to their camp, and the Irish held a council, in which some of them were for again uniting and

attacking the English camp. Others declared it was their opinion they should separate, and let each do the best they could to defend their respective patrimonies against the English. They continued disputing for three or four days, in which they were on the point of coming to blows. This defeat at Kinsale, happened on the 3d January, 1602.

After this decided and complete defeat, O'Donnell considered with himself what would be the best course for him to take, and he concluded upon going directly to Spain, to complain to king Philip, and endeavour to induce him to send a fresh army into Ireland. He embarked in a ship in Castlehaven, on the 6th of January, and arrived on the 14th of the same month at Corunna, in the province of Galicia, in Spain. When he had rested for a few days, after the fatigues of his voyage, he proceeded to Zamora, a city in Castile, where the king then happened to be on a progress round his Kingdom. The king received O'Donnell with the greatest affability, and graciously gave ear to his requests, which he promised should be complied with in every particular. He then desired him to return to Corunna, and to wait until every thing should be ready for him to return to Ireland, with the succours he required. O'Donnell

did as he was ordered, and remained in Corunna all the next spring and summer, and until the middle of harvest. In the mean time he suffered great uneasiness of mind from the thoughts of the situation in which he had left his friends in Ireland. He therefore resolved upon again waiting on the King of Spain, to urge him to give orders for the immediate dispatch of the promised succours. For this purpose he set out on his journey, and had reached as far Simancas, two leagues from Valladolid, the court of the king of Spain, when it pleased God to visit him with sickness, of which he died on the 10th of September, 1602. His body was removed to Valladolid, with great honor, and was interred in the chapter of the monastery of St. Francis, in that city, with all the state and religious ceremonies usually observed at the funerals of noblemen of the highest rank.

Thus ended the life of Red Hugh O'Donell, the last chief of Tirconnell, who was universally submitted to as **THE O'DONELL.**

After the death of Hugh Roe, Sir Niell Garbh O'Donell, with a considerable force, invaded Tyrone, plundered the country, and rendered great services to the English crown; after which he was repeatedly summoned to attend the lord

deputy and council, in order that he might make his submission and be appointed chief of Tirconnell; but, by an unaccountable fatuity, he neglected to attend, went to Kilmacrenan, and sent for O'Firgil, the *successor of Columkill*, and was by him inaugurated as O'Donell; which, being done without the consent of the lord lieutenant and council, gave great offence, as they thought he intended to act independent of the king's authority. Rory O'Donell being then in Dublin, and having made his humble submission, was accordingly sent for, and dispatched to Sir Henry Docwra, with orders to arrest Niell Garbh, who, hearing of their intention, fled; but afterwards submitted, and both he and Rory went to England, each claiming to be chief. They entered into recognizance to submit their pretensions to the king's decision, who ordered Rory to be created Earl of Tirconnell, and Sir Niell Garbh to be restored to his estate.

The patent, creating Rory Earl of Tirconnell, and his eldest son baron of Donegal, *in his father's life time*, was dated 29th Sept. 1603.

The king's letter is dated the 4th September, 1603, and as it is a very curious document, and contains the substance of the patent, I have added it to those printed at the end of this memoir.

It grants to the said Rory, "all our territories and countries of Tirconnell, with all the islands, rights, deaneries, advowsons, fishings, duties, and other hereditaments whatsoever, of antient time, justly belonging to the lord thereof," with a reservation of the rents and beeve services, as were formerly paid by his father and ancestors, reserving also the castle of Ballyshannon, and 1000 acres adjoining thereto. With the provisional condition, "that the castles, lands, services, rents and duties, which were in the possession of Sir Neill O'Donell, when he lived under Hugh Roe, late O'Donell, and an amity with him, especially Castle-fynyn, and all the lands, &c. belonging to the same, be reserved to the free disposition of us and our heirs to bestow on the said Sir Neal O'Donell, or such other as may deserve the same," It also ordered, that Rory should renounce all claims for duties and other rights, on Sir Cahir O'Doherty's and O'Connor Sligo's countries, and upon all other subjects residing out of the limits of Tirconnell. It created him earl of Tirconnell, with remainder to the heirs male of his body; remainder to his brother Caffery O'Donell; and it also created his, and their eldest sons and heirs male, lord barons of Donegal, during the lives of the earls. It also granted to the earl custodiam of all abbeys, priories and spiritual livings within the country of

Tirconnell till the king should otherwise dispose of them. He afterwards entered into rebellion, and was attainted by act of Parliament, in 1612, together with his brother Calvagh, died at Rome, 28th July, 1617, and was buried in the abbey of St. Francis there. He married Bridget, daughter of Henry, earl of Kildare, (who after his death married secondly Nicholas Barnwall, Lord Viscount Kingsland) by whom he had one only son,

Hugh O'Donell, called the second earl of Tirconnell, who was page to the Infanta Isabella-Clara-Eugenia, daughter of Philip the third, king of Spain, and governess of Flanders. He left an only son,

Niell Garbh O'Donell, commonly called the third earl of Tirconnell, who left an only son,

Manus O'Donell, commonly called the fourth earl of Tirconnell, who married a daughter of ——— O'Hara, and had only two daughters, Mary, who became the wife of Brian Ballagh O'Rourke, and ——— who died unmarried. Thus this branch of the family of O'Donell became extinct.

Caffer, or Calvagh, O'Donell, brother to Earl

Rory, and in remainder to the earldom, died at Rome Sept. 17th, 1617, and was buried with his brother. He married Rose O'Dogherty, by whom (who was afterwards married to the celebrated general Owen O'Neill) he had two sons, Caffer Oge, and Hugh, who was buried at Brussels, with his mother. Whether Caffer Oge left descendants or not, I have not been able to learn, but am inclined to think not.

We now return to Calvagh O'Donell, the eldest son of Manus O'Donell, son of Hugh Duffe, who on his father being imprisoned, seized upon the government of Tirconnell, in 1555, and caused himself to be inaugurated as O'Donell. He entered into a treaty with Sir Sidney, lord deputy of Ireland, dated 20th October, 1568, in which he is styled Dominus Calvachius O'Donell, and therein acknowledged Queen Elizabeth to be his "*solam et naturalem dominam supremam et quod in omnibus causis tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus sua majestatis est, et esse debet, sola et suprema gubernatrix in hoc regni.*" A Copy of this curious document will be found at the end of this article, with several letters of this O'Donell.

He fell dead, of an apoplexy, from his horse, 26th November, 1566, and his brother Hugh be-

came O'Donell, as before stated. His only son was Con O'Donnell, who married the daughter of Tirlogh Luineagh O'Neill, by whom he had three sons and a daughter. Calvagh, slain by Hugh Roe O'Donell; Caffrey, slain by O'Neill and his rebels; and Niell Garbh: the daughter, was Margaret, wife of Hugh mac Mulmore O'Reilly, of Camets, in the county of Cavan. Several letters of this Con will be found at the end.

Sir Neill Garbh O'Donell, the third and only surviving son, was knighted by lord Mountjoy, lord deputy of Ireland, 29th April, 1602. He is mentioned in the preceding pages in the account of Hugh Roe O'Donell, and the part he took in favour of the English government on the death of the said Hugh Roe, in 1603. He was inaugurated as O'Donell, as before stated, but he was compelled afterwards to surrender the dignity to Rory, earl of Tirconnell, and was committed a prisoner to the tower of London, on suspicion of being concerned in O'Dogherty's rebellion, where he remained till his death. He married his cousin, the daughter of Sir Hugh O'Donell, and sister of Hugh Roe O'Donell, and of Rory earl of Tirconnell, by whom he had three sons, Neaghtan, who died without issue; Colonel Manus O'Donell, ancestor to the O'Donells of Newport, in the county of Mayo; and Hugh Boy O'Donell,

ancestor to the O'Donells of Larkfield, in the county of Leitrim. Col Manus was slain at Don-gannon, in 1646. His son Roger was of Lifford, in the county of Donegal, and afterwards settled in the county of Mayo, and was father of Col. Manus O'Donell, of Newport in the county of Mayo, whose will was proved at Tuam, in 1737; he was grandfather to Manus O'Donell, Esq. who was a colonel in the Austrian service, and Count of the Holy Roman empire, whose only daughter and heiress, was married to Robert Gage Rookwood, Esq. second son of Sir Thomas Gage, of Hengrave, in Suffolk. Lewis O'Donell, of Newcastle, in the county of Mayo, Esq., brother to Count Manus O'Donell, married Miss Camac, and had issue, Lewis O'Donell, Esq., and other children; Hugh O'Donell, of Newport, in the county of Mayo, Esq. third son of Col. Manus O'Donell, who died in 1737, was the father of the late Sir Neal O'Donell, Baronet, to whom the *Caah* was left, by the last of the French branch of the O'Donells; he married Mary, daughter of William Coane, of Ballyshannon, in the county of Donegal, Esq. by whom he had four sons, and two daughters; first, Hugh O'Donell, Esq. a colonel in the army, and lieutenant-colonel of the South Mayo Militia, who married Alice, daughter and heir of Massey Hutchinson, of Mount Massey, in the county of Cork, Esq., by whom he had an

only daughter, Alice-Massey, who became the wife of William Clayton, Esq. eldest son of Sir William Clayton, Baronet; second, James Moore O'Donell, Esq. who married Deborah, daughter of Turner Camac, Esq. but had no issue; third, Sir Neale O'Donell, the present Baronet, who married Lady Catharine Annesley, daughter of Richard, first earl Annesley, by whom he has issue, Hugh-James-Moore, and other children; fourth, Connell O'Donell, the present possessor of the *Cuak*, who married Mary, daughter of the Rev. George Richey, of Newry, in the county of Down. The daughters were Margaret, wife of Sir Capel Molyneux, of Castle-dillon, in the county of Armagh, Baronet, and Maria, wife of Dodwell Brown, of Rahins, in the county of Mayo, Esq.

The house of Larkfield are descended, as before stated, from Hugh Boy O'Donell, son of Sir Neall Garbh O'Donell, and brother of Col. Manus O'Donell, who was slain at Dungannon, in 1646. He married Mary Maguire, daughter of Lord Enniskillen, by whom he had a son John, who, by Catharine O'Rourke, had two sons, Hugh, who died without issue, and Connell O'Donell, who married Grace, sister of Colonel Manus O'Donell, and daughter of Roger O'Donell, of Lifford, by whom he had three sons—

John, who left an only son Hugh, who died in Germany without issue ; Charles, who died also without issue ; and Hugh.

This Hugh O'Donell was of Larkfield, in the county of Leitrim, and on the extinction of the male descendants of Rory, Earl of Tirconnell, was commonly, in the North of Ireland, styled **EARL O'DONELL**.* He was, I believe, a general in the service of the Empress Maria Teresa, a knight of her order, and a count of the Holy Roman Empire. He married twice ; first Florinda, daughter of John Hamilton, of Cavan, Esq. and sister of general John Count Hamilton, of the Austrian service, by whom he had two sons and a daughter :—Connell, Count O'Donell, general in the Austrian service, and governor of Transylvania, who died unmarried 1771 ; and John Count O'Donell, also a general in the Austrian service, whose only son, Charles, Count O'Donell, a major-general in the same service, was killed at Nerisheim, in 1805. Susanna, the only daughter by the first wife, was married to John Edmond Purcell, of Ballymartin, in Kilkenny, Esq. an officer in the same service.—Count Hugh married secondly Margaret, daughter of Hugh Montgomery, of Derrygonnelly, in

* MS. of the late John Lodge, esq. in my possession.

Fermanagh, Esq. by whom he had an only son, Con O'Donell, of Larkfield, who left two sons, Hugh O'Donell, of Grayfield, in Roscommon, and Con O'Donell, of Larkfield, Esq.

Colonel Daniel O'Donell, who followed the fortunes of king James the second to France, and who was possessed of and repaired the *Caah*, was descended from Hugh duffe O'Donell, and brother of Manus O'Donell, chief of his name, who died in 1563.

A branch of the family are settled in Spain, of which are the celebrated general, the Conde de Abispal, and his brothers, who distinguished themselves in the late war.

Another O'Donell was married in Austria, to a princess of Cantucacini, the descendants of the Greek emperors of Constantinople and Trebisonde.

Treaty between Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy of Ireland, and Calvagh O'Donell, chief of Tirconnell.—1564.

Hec Indentura facta vicesimo die mensis Octobris, anno regni serenissime et indictissime principis Elizabeth, Dei gratiâ Anglie, Francie, et Hibernie Regina, fidei defensor, etc. octavo, inter honorabilem virum Dominum Henricum Sidney,

ordinis garterii militem, presidentem consilii Wallie, et marchiarum eorundum, deputatum suum in Hiberniâ generalem, ceterosque de consilio in eodem regno quorum nomina subscribuntur, ex unâ parte, et Dominum Calvachium O'Donnell, ex alterâ parte, testatur : quod predictus Dominus O'Donnell concessit, promisit, et per presentes se obligavit firmiter tenere et perimplere dictæ Domine Regine, et successoribus suis, tenorem et formam articulorum sequentium.

Primum confitetur se magnoperè evinctum esse deo optimo maximo, et serenissime regine, cujus justitia et misericordia, post tantum miseriam et exilium restauravit, cum omnibus suis hereditamentis, castellis, honoribus, et regiminibus, nec parcat intensis sumptibus, nec laboribus, sue majestatis deputati, nec non exercitus istius, quâ quidem ratione novit quidem se tam juste et excellentissimæ principi adherere, et appellare debere, et igitur cum omni gratiarum actione promittit pro se, et omnibus suis aliis successoribus, dominis O'Donnells, favores hos remunerare suorum servitiis, sicut fidelium subditorum est, et semper obedientes erunt sue majestatis, et sue majestatis deputato, et omnibus aliis locum predictum tenentibus in hoc regno Hibernie.

Item, confitetur reginam serenissimam suam solam et naturalem dominam supremam, et quod in omnibus causis, tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus, sua majestas est, et esse debet, sola et suprema gubernatrix in hoc regno, et quod, ad posse suum, adjuvabit et supportavit auctoritatem predictam, et expellabit et eradicabit omnes hos, qui in Connaliâ contradictores erunt. Et ulterius dictus Dominus O'Donell, pro se et successoribus suis, dat et sursum reddit in manus serenissime regine, omnia servitia et jura regalia in Connalliâ appertinentia corone hujus regni imperialis.

Item, dictus Dominus O'Donell promittit, pro se et omnibus

aliis dominis Connalie, quod nunquam confederabant, cum aliquibus rebellibus, vel rebello, sue majestatis, vel suorum successorum, nec in amicitiam vel servitium suum accipiant aliquos Scotos, vel ullos alios alienos, sine licentiâ suâ majestatis, vel successorum suorum, vel eorum deputati et consilii in hoc regno; et ulterius, ad posse suum, obediens erit ad mandatum deputati et consilii, et prosequetur pro virili rebellem Johannem O'Neile, et omnes sibi adherentes.

Item, dictus Dominus O'Donell, consentit quod quoties ipse O'Donell, vel successores sui, rogati vel mandati erunt, per literas domini deputati, vel sue majestatis locum tenentis, in hoc regno, veniet in propriâ personâ (si modo validus fuerit, ad omne magnum et generale viagium, in hoc regno, et secum adducat sexaginta equites, centum viginti turbarios, et trecentos Scoticos, vel si non validus erit) mittet saltem principalem generosum de Connaliâ, ad electionem domini deputati, cum totidem equitibus, turbariis, et Scoticis, cum victualibus pro quadraginta diebus.

Item, dictus Dominus O'Donell, consentit, quod, quoties dominus deputatis hujus regni, vel ejusdem regni consillarii, mittent literas suas pro dicto Domino O'Donnell, veniet toties ad omnes locos, et parliamenta, in illis litteris specificata et nominata.

Item, consentit dictus Dominus O'Donell, perimplere omnia decreta publicata, vel publicanda, per dictum dominum deputatum et consilium, inter predictum Dominum O'Donell et fratrem suum, Hugonem Mac Manus O'Donell, vel avunculum suum Hugonem Duffe O'Donell, tam pro divisione hereditamentorum, quam pro aliquâ aliâ causâ vel materiâ.

Item, dictus Dominus O'Donell, pro se et omnibus aliis

Dominis de Connaliâ, in futurum confitetur se tenere patrias, terras, et tenementa, de majestate serenissime regine, solum. Et si imposterum sue majestati placuerit, usus et ritus hujus patriæ commutare et eam reducere, ad ordinem civilem, ad eam gubernandum, per leges suas, sicut in Anglicanis partibus hujus regni, vel si sua majestas honorabit titulo aliquo honoris predictum Dominum O'Donell, vel aliquos alios generosos de Connaliâ, predictus Dominus O'Donell, ad posse suum, adjuvabit et suppeties sue majestati dabit.

Item, predictus Dominus O'Donell, consentit pro se et omnibus aliis Dominis de Connaliâ, quod quando et quotiescumque visum est sue majestati, castra aliqua erigere et componere, vel exercitus in Connaliam mittere, pro defensione suorum subditorum, (sicut jam agitur) predictus Dominus O'Donell, et successores, obedientes erunt et morigeri ad perimplendum pro virili mandata, et voluntatem regiam.

Item, consentit et affirmat quod majestas sua, habebit donacionem omnium episcopatuum, et nominationem omnium episcoporum Connalie, sicut in ceteris partibus hujus regni, ac presentationem omnibus beneficiis ecclesiasticis, quibus majestas sua titulum habet, aut imposterum habere poterit, ac etiam liberam dispositionem omnium terrarum quibus majestas sua investiri poterit.

Item, quoad posse supportabit omnes tenentes regine infra dominationes suas existentes, et eas terras suas, et tenementa et commoditates eorum, tenere et possidere quietos patietur, nec predictos depredabit, nec ab hiis accipiet, *Coine and Livery*, vel aliquos alios usus, impositiones, aut exactiones quascunque, per ipsum aut predecessores suos usitatos, in contrarium non obstante.

Item, bene supportabit et supportari faciet, quoad posse exercitum tam equitum quam peditum, nunc relictum apud Dirry, sub conductione Edwardi Randalf, armigeri, colonelli omnium peditum in Hiberniâ existentium, ac etiam dabit, aut dari faciet, eidem colonello, quamdiu in Connaliâ manebunt, aut prope eum numerum quadraginta marcarum, singulis septimanis, prima autem solucio incipiet primo die Decembris, quo tempore etiam predictus O'Donell dabit, vel dari faciet, pro tribus mensibus numerum quatuor centum et octaginta marcarum, pretii sex solidorum et octo denariorum, sterlingorum, pro unaquaque marca, et pro defectu uniuscujusque marce, dabit aut dari faciet, sex oves, aut quatuor porcos, unius anni etatis et ultra.

Item, dabit, aut dari faciet, eidem colonello, avenas in stramine, sufficientes ad victum centum equorum, viz. pro unoquoque equo, quatuor onera, pro die, et in singulis oneribus viginti quatuor manipulos, aut in loco ejusdem duas mensuras avenarum, nuncupatum *a methher*.

Item, in consideratione gratuitatis et benevolencie sue, remunerande magnos favores, ac copiosa beneficia, pro protectionem, ac magnam clementiam majestatis sue, accepta, contentus est et concedit, dare et solvere in scaccarium majestatis sue Hibernie, pro se et heredibus vel successoribus suis, Dominis O'Donells, in perpetuum, ducentum marcas sterlingas, solvendas annuatim ad festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli et Phillppi et Jacobi Apostolorum, per equales porciones, aut in loco ejusdem, ad electionem suam ipsius O'Donell, trescentas marcas, quas dabit, aut dari faciet, ad festa predicta, in villa de Kelles in comitatu Midie.

In cujus rei testimonium predictus Dominus O'Donell, has indenturas manu suâ propriâ subscripsit, et eisdem sigillum

suum posuit, in presentiis, Hugonis Mac Manus O'Donnell, fratris sui, Hugonis Duff O'Donell, avunculi sui, Donaldi Magonnell, Episcopi Rapotensis, O'Doghortie, cognominis sue principalis, Mac Suine Fannaghe, O'Boile, sui cognominis principalis, Mac Suine Bannaghe, Mac Suine Dunne, et ceterorum generosorum Connalie, qui quidem his predictis concessionibus suas dederunt et affirmaverunt, apud Ballyshein, die et anno predictis, at fuerunt quoque Johannes O'Ghalloher, Capitaneus de Bondroies, et Hugo O'Donell officarius Rapotensis.

*Pro Constituendo Hugonem Mac Manus O'Donell,
Capitaneum Nationis suæ de Tyrconnell.—
A. D. 1574.*

Pat. 16, Eliz. p. 9, m. 33.

Regina, omnibus ad quos &c. salutem sciatis, quod nos, de verâ obedientiâ *Hugonis Mac-Manus O'Donell*, digne ejusdem promptitudine ad deserviendum nobis, atque ad patriam illam, et nostrorum subditorum fidelium in eâdem patriâ desertium recte, rite, et fideliter gubernandum et tenendum, plurimum confidentes, eundem *Hugonem* capitaneum patriæ de *Tyrconnell*, cum pertinentiis, nominamus, ordinamus, constituimus, et confirmamus per præsentis, Habendum, tenendum, gaudendum et occupandum capitaneatum prædictum, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, proficuis, commoditatibus, juribus, et advantagiis quomodolibet de antiquo debitis et usitatis in patriâ prædicta, eidem *Hugoni*, quamdiu vixerit, et in eodem se bene gesserit, ut noster fidelis subditus, ac teneat, perimpleverit, et performaverit, nobis et successoribus nostris tenerem, firmam, et effectum omnium et singulorum illorum articulorum in quâdam indenturâ inde inter predilectum et fidelem nostrum *Henricum Sidney*, præno-

bilis ordinis nostris garterii militem, tunc regni nostri *Hiberniæ* nostrum, deputatum, et concilium, nostrum, et Calvacium, quondam capitaneum prefate patrie de *Terconell*, ex datâ vicesimi die Octobris, Anno Regni nostri octavo, specificatorum, et qui, ex parte ejusdem *Calvacii* essent, sive ferent per indenturam illam performandi et perimplendi; et porro accedat ad Deputatum nostrum regni nostri *Hiberniæ*, ac ad gubernatorem nostrum *Ultonie*, protempore existentes, et ad concilium regni nostri prædicti, quandocunque per mandatum sive literas eorum alicujus habuerit in mandatis ad vos accedero. In cujus &c. teste Reginâ, apud *Gorhamburge*, decimo nono die Julii.

Per breve de privato sigillo.

ORIGINAL LETTERS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Cotton MSS. Vespasian F. XII—fol. 62.

Indorsed—"To Con. O'Donell, 31 Julii, 1562."

Predilecte salutem.—Negotia tua patris que tui cum regia majestate ita tractavimus, ut finem omnibus secundum desiderum, tuum imposuimus. Patrem tuum, teque regia majestas in suam tutelam accepit, vosque defendere suscepit, omniaque præmissa peremptere decrevit. Hæc tibi brevi scribenda duximus, ea vero per dilectum meum capellanum archedeaconum Midensem tibi fusius declaranda sunt; cui, ut fidem sicut nobis ipsis habeas volumus. Datum ex *POHNE* et scripta nostra propria manu, 31 July 1562.

Id. lib. fol. 63.

Indorsed—"O'Donell's Letter broughte by Shane's men 25 Augusti 1562."

This letter was in Irish, the following is a translation:

Life and health from O'Donell to his Lord and to his Friends; and let his complaint be with you; according to the custom of the war of Ireland I left my possessions well and Con O'Donell to succeed me. And he took into his hands every thing, which he found in the country. He withholds from me that which O'Neill and I agreed by compact together that I should give. And he has made his own determination (and is resolved to abide by it) to keep it to himself, as is evident to me and to every other man: He will not give me my own share, nor the share of O'Neill, which against my will has for a long time been in the possession of the Connallians. And now, therefore, I beseech you to compel Conn O'Donell, willingly or unwillingly, to permit me to fulfil my part of the agreement which is between us and O'Neill.

I, O'DONELL.

Id. Lib. fol. 64.

Indorsed—"To Con O'Donell 26 Auguste 1562."

After our very hartly commendatyons,—we have receyved two lettrs from you, and do perceyve by the report of the Deyne of Armaghe and Archdekon of Methe your good and faythfull meanyng and dysposytyon in the serveyce of the Queene's Majeste, whych we do well allow and thankfully take, and therefore ye maye be assured of all friendship and favor that we maye shewe unto you in all your juste causes. We have wrytten to Shane O'Nele to be with us at Dundalk the of Septembr, at which daye and place we also requyr you not to fayle to be with us; and, for your bettr securityte, to come through Tyrone. We have accordyng to your requeste made in your lettrs to Sir Thomas Cusake, wrytten to Shane O'Nele to ageynst you, and neverthelesse, referr to you to consyder

whether it shall be more suer for you to come that wayes upon his or to come by McGuire's countrie wher you may be assured to passe in safety. We have also wrytten to Shane to prolonge his peace with you, whiche we also praye you to kepe on your parte; and so we byd you hartely well to fare, and assure you we wyll not fayle at your comyng to favor you and your resonabell causes in that we justely maye.

From Athloyn the xxvith of August, 1562.

Id. Lib. fol. 65.

Indorsed—"25th Augusti 1562—Con O'Donell."

Per Chonacium O'Donaill reverendissimo Domino Deputato
S. P. cum subjeccione.

Noverit quidem dominacio discrecioque vestros commissarios puta Decannus Armachannensis ac Archidiaconnus Medensem, ad nostrum aspectum comparuisse, vocantes nos ad concilium celebrandi causa pacem inter nos et Johannem O'Neill, quorum equidem adventum Hilari animo jocundoque vultu accepimus, quibus tanquam viris honestis fidem prestabamus. Ita quidem ut ad vestram presentiam, favente Deo maximo accedemus, si quo die nos vocaveritis si dictus Johannes vestrum conspectum adibit. Alias si ipse Johannes rebellis redderetur ineundo ad concilium, vellimus quidem per vestram veniam licentiari, et scribere ad vestros amicos puta Dominum Maguydhir, et Therencium Luyneach O'Neill, ut nos pro viribus adversus, dictum Johannem confortarent, et quid horum facere decreveritis vestro jussui obtemperare faciemus, et his literis prelectis cerciorare nos curetis de animo et intencione ipsius Johannis O'Neill, an iturus est ad vestrum concilium, et ad quem diem velletis nos accedere. Item etenim fecimus comissarias vestros scribere ad Hugonem O'Donaill, fratrem nostrum, qui est amicus

dicti Johannis in maleficiis ac damnis nobis committendis, ut ad reginam concilium simul nobiscum iter carperet, et eis responsione adhuc haud inventa, sive transierit, sive non, nos velle vestrum si quid fuerit sine debito exequemur. Rescribetur utique ad nos cum certo responso predictorum celeri cursu. Et sic valete, ex Leffer, in Crastino Assumptionis Beate Marie, Anno Domini 1562, yor. humble Servant to commande

Con O'Donnaihl.

Id. Lib. fol. 66.

Indorsed—"Con O'Donell 25 Augusti 1562."

"Reverendissimo Domino Deputato Regioque Concilio, cum reverentiâ et honore, harum litterarum cum licuerit tradicionem fiat fidelis."

In Deo nomine Amen—Venerabilissimo ac reverendissimo Domino Deputato, nos Conachius O'Donaill, humilissimus servus Regine Majestatis, salutes stellis celi coequales ferventi cordis amore peroptamus. Noverit quidem ille qui nichil ignorat, qualiter in eventum vestro gaudeamus, et quanta damna et pericula et oppressiones in vestrâ absencia paciebamur, pro ut nostra misera et lamentabilis querela in subsequentibus continebit. Talis enim est nostra querimonia contra nephandum ac tyrannum virum Johannem O'Neill, Primo quod antequam vos adjuistis Angliam, et quando nos in vestra comitiva fuimus, homines ipsius Johannis O'Neill puta Niallanus juvenis O'Neill, cum suis satellitibus, spoliaverunt nos mille vaccis et marthis, cum multis caballis, quarum restitutiones nunquam invenimus, item, etiam graviolem, miseriam, et querelam, nunc habemus quam nunc novissime post eventum ipsius Johannis O'Neill in Hyberniam, nos sua propria temeritate et audacia invadebat, et sex milia vacarum

et caballorum nobis auferebat, quarum occasione ac defectu multi homines pauperesque perierunt, et plerique quidem morituri sunt, nisi dei clemencia, ac vestro suffragio, nobis succurreretur. Credebamus equidem nos tutos et intutela positos ex quo semel dictus Johannes O'Neill adivit presenciam regine, confidentes remedium reginale, ac vestram favorem nobis esse in vicino, et sic frustra spe lactati tanta damna nobis comissa fuerunt, ut predicitur, quanta lingua nostra apto ordine fari nequit. Tanta quidem optabamus munera ipsi Johanni antequam nos depredavit aut omnibus bonis exspoliavit, puta quinque obsides pro fidelitate donec iremus ad concilium regale, et unam bonam villam in patria nostra manucaptam, et censum de Tir Eoghayn nostris parentibus debitum, et multos equos, aliaque munera et largiciones. Sancti Dei timore procul abjecto, ac vestro mandato prorsus contempto, prefatus Johannes O'Neill, depopulator agrorum, ac publice utilitatis vexator, modis quibus diximus, et longe horribilioribus, nos invasit, predictas miserias, erumnas, paupertates, predas, spoliaciones, invasiones, tunsiones hominumque occisiones, nobis committendo. Item post hec obtestamur vestram amicitiam ac dominacionem habere vigiliam ac diligentiam, de liberacione Domini Calvacii Idonnaill, parentis nostri, incarcerati et manucapti apud dictum Johannem O'Neill. Super quibus omnibus querelis, accusationibus, supplicationibus, vestram veneracionem, clementiam, ac miserecordiam, in Christo Jesu exhortamur, si semper desideratis habere nos, et parentes nostras, insolitis servicio et subjectione, aut spem firmam solidamque confidentiam quam in vos fixam habemus ad finem debitum deducere, quatenus nobis super restitutione predictorum damnorum providere dignemini, quoniam, ut proverbio volgari canitur, in tempore necessitatis ingentis probatur vera amicitia. Et si majus cupitis citare nos ad concilium vestrum, simul cum Domino Johanne O'Neill predicto, et habere pro nobis

integram restitutionem ab ipso, aut dare nobis veniam expectandi in loco nostro et facultatem vestram nobis imponere, per quam possimus acquirere plenariam restitutionem, parati sumus, libenti animo, vestris suasibus obtemperare, ita quidem quod facietis antefatum Johannem O'Neill compescere Hugonem O'Donnaill, nostrum fratrem, qui tanquam alter Hercules, tum potestate et confortamine ipsius Johannis, nobis hostili incursu obesse nobis vereter hec enim necessitates nostre quibus involuimur, atque inundamur celerem expeditionem requirunt, ob quam causam Majestatis intuitu vos obsecramus, ut infra viginti quatuor horas, post noticiam presenciam literarum, ad querelas hasce nostras respondeant, et quod facturi estis quantum ad nos rescribetis cum vestro ac nostro ambasiatoribus. Et sic Valete, 13 Augusti Anno Domini 1562.

Post scripta.—Equidem si dictus Johannes O'Neill misit, aut in posterum mittet ad vos, aliquas querelas aut accusationes adversus nos, quas falsitatis colore autumamus fore picturatas, cum in vestra adfuerimus apto ordine respondebimus presencia.

Id. Lib. fol. 83.

Indorsed—"O'Donnell, 14 Septembris, 1562."

Addressed—"Honorabili Domino Locumtenenti dentur."

Predilecte salutem. Ante hac scripsi ad vestram amplitudinem, Conoscium O'Doinnaill, vestra si lubeat pace, cogere, coacte aut voluntarie, ut me solveret pro bonis meis, et pro bonis ejusdem Dominium Ineill, possessis aput Conolanenses, sed responsum meum non scripsit vestra D. ideoque sepe et sepissime imploro vestram amplitudinem ut hoc in tempore cogetas dictum Conoscium me solvere a Domino O'Neill, cum nunc vobiscum Conoscus esse, secundum scrip-

tum inter me et Dominum O'Neill, manu mei subscriptam, cum consensu ejusdem Conoscii, et hoc facietis priusquam Conoscus vestram relinquat presenciam. Maximas debeo agere gratias Domino O'Neill, ut me manucepit pro solucione de me habenda, non obstante, qui juste me invenit secundum bellum et consuetudinem hujus partis regni. Et sic sepe et sepissime peto ut cogetis Conoscium me solvere prius quam vos relinquat, coacte aut voluntarie, et sic valet. Ex villa Domini Ineill, xiiii. Septembris 1562.

ego O'dom.

Id. Lib. fol. 87.

Fragment, in the hand-writing of Thos. Ratchiffe, Earl of Sussex.

Indorsed—"Copy of a Concordatum granted to Con O'Donnell, Oct. 5, 1562."

And, wher Con O'Donnell hathe made declaratyon unto us that he hathe of late suffered dyvers losses, and the countrie that he governeth, in the tyme of his father's imprisonment, is utterly wasted, for that he hathe contynued his faythfull and trewe servyce to the Queene's Majestye, and hathe in consyderatyon thereof made humbell petityon to be re-
teyned in her Majestye's wages; for his better course in servyce, and shew of her Majestye's favour towards hym, wherby his friends and followers may the more wyllingly joyne with him, it is by us, the Lord Lieutenant and Councell agreed that the sayd Con shall have the Queene's Majestye's wages of vi^s. viii^d. by the daye, to begyn the 28 of Septembr last, and to the contynew during her Majestye's pleasure.

Dated at Trymlett this fyfth of Octobr, 1562.

Id. Lib. fol. 95.

Indorsed—"O'Donnell, 6 Octobris, 1562."

Addressed—"Honorabili Domino meo Domino Locumtenenti
dentur."

Predilecto meo Domino salutem, opto felicem summam. Caritas necnon summa necessitas, me movet ut hoc scripto vestram amplitudinem visitarem, cum Conoscus O'Doinnaill jam in presenciarum est m———— est imploro vestram amplitudinem ut eum, voluntare aut coacte, facietis dictum Conoscium solvere et deducere me ad libertatem ex manibus Domini Ineill; et non mittere dicto Conoscio recedere a vestra dominacione, donec concordaverit me, vel finem mee solucioni imponeret. Dicunt quidam quod Conoscus dixit, si haberet septem parentes, et quod ipsi omnes arrestarentur, et quod eorum solucio esset villa de Leffyr, quod illam villam non traderet, ex eorum libertate; hujus autem animi est ipse Conoscus, lucrare sibi omnia bona mea, et villas meas, et non solvere me pro bonis meis. Quare cum Conoscus est illius animi tenacis, et vestri officii interest justiciam inter quascumque in hoc regno ministrare, ex quo justo bello manucaptus eram per Dominum O'Neill, idoneum duxi vobis scribere ut facietis dictum Conoscium me solvere pro bonis, et magnam fiduciam habes, ex vestra amplitudine, quod si in bonis non haberem quantum sufficeret ad meam solucionem, quod vestra amplitudo me solveret pro vestris bonis. Et sic iterum atque iterum rogo vos indilate facietis dictum Conoscium, filium in amicabilem meum, me solvere pro bonis meis, nam si absentaverit se in nullo adherebit vestris monitis, quan-

tum ad meamolucionem responsum super his mihi scribatis.
Et sic quam optime valete, ex Daire, Sexto Octobris 1562.

mrr̄ O'Dom.*

Id. Lib. fol. 98.

Indorsed—"To Hewgh O'Donnell, 20 Septembris, 1562."

Dilecte salutem—Cum intelligimus quasdam controversias inter te et Conatium O'Donell esse ortas, quarum decisionem ille lubenter ad nos remittet, rogamus te quatenus a damno illi inferendo omnino abstineas, et ut iudicio nostro in omnibus stare velis ita, enim justitia ex utraque parte administrabitur, et interim patria de Tirconnell populi que inhabitantes guere† causa remota pacifice et quiete vivere, terraque arare et loca devastata inhabitari, ad magnum illius patrie totiusque regni commodum possint. Et si hoc feceris justiciam, cum favore expectare poteris, si autem a consilio et mandatu nostro erraveris damnum patriotis inferes, et regiam Majestatem ad vindictam provoces nuncius tuus, cum litteris tuis, ad nos venit Dondalke, et quia in regiis negotiis tunc versabamur, illum nos ad Arbrakan sequi jussimus pro responso, ille vero statim ad te sine responso reversus est, vale.—Datum ex Arbrakan xxx Septembris, 1562.

Id. Lib. fol. 70.

Indorsed—"Shane O'Nell, 6 Octobris 1562."

Addressed—"Honorabili Domino Locotinenti deatur."

Humili recommendatione premissa. Scripsit mihi vestro amplitudo ut securitatem darem Conoscio O'Donnaill, ego,

* I, O'Donell † Sic orig'

vestris suacionibus et mandatis, dabo ei securitatem unius mensis, interim quoque mittatis homines vestros ad habendum in restitutionem de dicto Conoscio in omnibus per eum prave a me, et a meis ablatis contra mandata reginæ Majestatis et contra prohibitionem vestram; sciat quoque vestra dominatio quod si illa mendaces essent semipares m. . . in potestate, quod non adherent vestris neque aliquibus mandatis qui prave nocerent omnibus, et mihi si possent quod probari bene potest dum non obstante eorum minima potentia contra vestra mandata, et vestræ securitatis tempore sicut possunt, nocent et quod ego quantum ad eos, adhereo vestris mandatis tempore securitatis, eis non nocendo, et si qua dampna comissi contra Conoscium, ipse Conoscus dedit ansam, nam primo plura dampna contra me perpetravit prave, sed villam, fabricatam per me apud Lochfeabhail, nuper datam per Conoscium Scotticis, et occidit filium Capitanei O'Cathan, cum aliis dampnis tempore quo eram in Anglia, tunc autem tempore securitatis vestre, sicut antehac vobis scripseram delicta contra me fecit, nam sui familiaris manuceperunt filiam Domini Idonnaill, et alios dominos generosos interfecerunt, in presencione præfatorum dampnorum et delictorum, feci quidam vindictam contra dictum Conoscium, cum non adhærebat vestris mandatis. Scripsi ad Magydir, et ad filium Ranalldi Flavi, ut mihi restituerent indilate omnia dampna per eos mihi et meis ablata tempore securitatis restituerent, sicut eis in mandatis dedistis mihi restituere per vestras literas. Et si non adherebant vestris monitis indicta restitutione mihi faciendis oportet, me perseq. . . mea dampna, et debetis capere circa eos vindictam ut promisistis. Jam Capitaneus Maghydir depredavit meos subditos, qui erant sibi vicini, tempore quo homines mei erant vobiscum in Ardbrecan, ceterum imploramus vestras deminaciones ut festinabitis nuncios meos, et literas meas, ad regiam majestatem; et meam personam in omnibus que decent ad amicitiam precor ut, vestre persone

comigret ut essemus una caro et unus spiritus, sicut in animo habeo, et favebitis me regine majestati in meis petitionibus, sicut certus sum quod obtinebitis a regia majestate, ea que velitis, ab ea impetrare. Responsum super his cum latore scribati et sic quam optime valete, ex campo meo, aput Daire Duban, sexto Octobris, 1562.

myrr o'neill.

Id. Lib. fol. 76.

Indorsed—"Con O'Donell, 9 Oct. 1562."

Addressed—"Reverendissimo Domino Deputato harum Litterarum, cum reverencia honoreque condigno, fiat tradica."

Superscribed—"Per Chonacium O'Donnayll Ro . . Domino Deputato S. P. cum humili subjeccione."

Literas vestras nunc novissime deputas accepimus, ex quibus clare intelligimus nos observicium nostrum in stipendio regio annali fore acceptos, propter quod maximas grates vestre magnificencie referimus. Conquerimus equidem vestre dominacioni de ineffabilibus damnis nunc nobis commissis, quando in vestro colloquio erramus, per nefandum virum Johannem O'Neill, et Hugonem O'Donnaill, qui nobis tres millia vacarum et capallorum auferebant, ac patriam nostram incendio tradiderunt, in vituperium ac contemptum vestrum, et nostrum irremediabile detrimentum, prout hujus assercionis veritatem ab hominibus ipsius Johannis O'Neill assequebamur. Noluimus enim pandere omnia anxietatis nostre quando in vestro conspectu fuimus, igitur nunc vestram dominacionem exhortamur, ut necessitatem nostram in memoria habeatis, et vestram facultatem adversus ipsum Johannem deduceatis, et si vestri ambasiatores adhuc non repetierunt Hiberniam,

jubemus vobis tardare nostrum nuncium vobiscum, usque ad eventum vestrorum ambasiatorum quo ad usque certiorabitis nos de his que Domina Regina vobis rescripserit; ut breviter quidem alloquimur, omnia nobis possibilia parati sumus ad vestrum jussum explere. Et sic valetote, ex manerio Domini Maguydhir, 9 die Octobris, anno Domini 1562.

Post scripta—Pandimus quod vehementi morbo opus est celeri remedio, igitur finem faustum nostris conatibus imponentis contemptus autem majestatis regie gravatur ex commissione damnorum quorum simus in vestro colloquio, et qui stolidorum schomatibus afficimur igitur &c. Nobis enim asseritur quod ipse Johannes O'Neill facit multos amicos adversus vestram majestatem, ob orientati et occidentali unde præcavere est oportet enim nos elaborare pro aliquo medicamento aliunde acquirendo, nisi celeriter nobis vestrum suffragium succurrentur de digno enim responso horum, omnium nobis rescribetis—et de promissionibus vestris nobis fiendis quod quos vellitis deducere ad finem, si possibile erit.

Yor. humble sarvant to commaund at all times,

Con O'Donajll.

The King's Letter directing a patent to pass to create Rory O'Donell, Earl of Tirconnell, with a grant of that country.

James Rex.

By the King.

Right trusty and welbeloved, we greet you well. We have been credibly informed that Rorie O'Donnell, brother to the archtraitor O'Donnell, lately deceased in Spain, made his humble submission, in Ireland, to our Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and in token of the detestation of his former disloyalties and firm resolution to continue dutiful and loyal

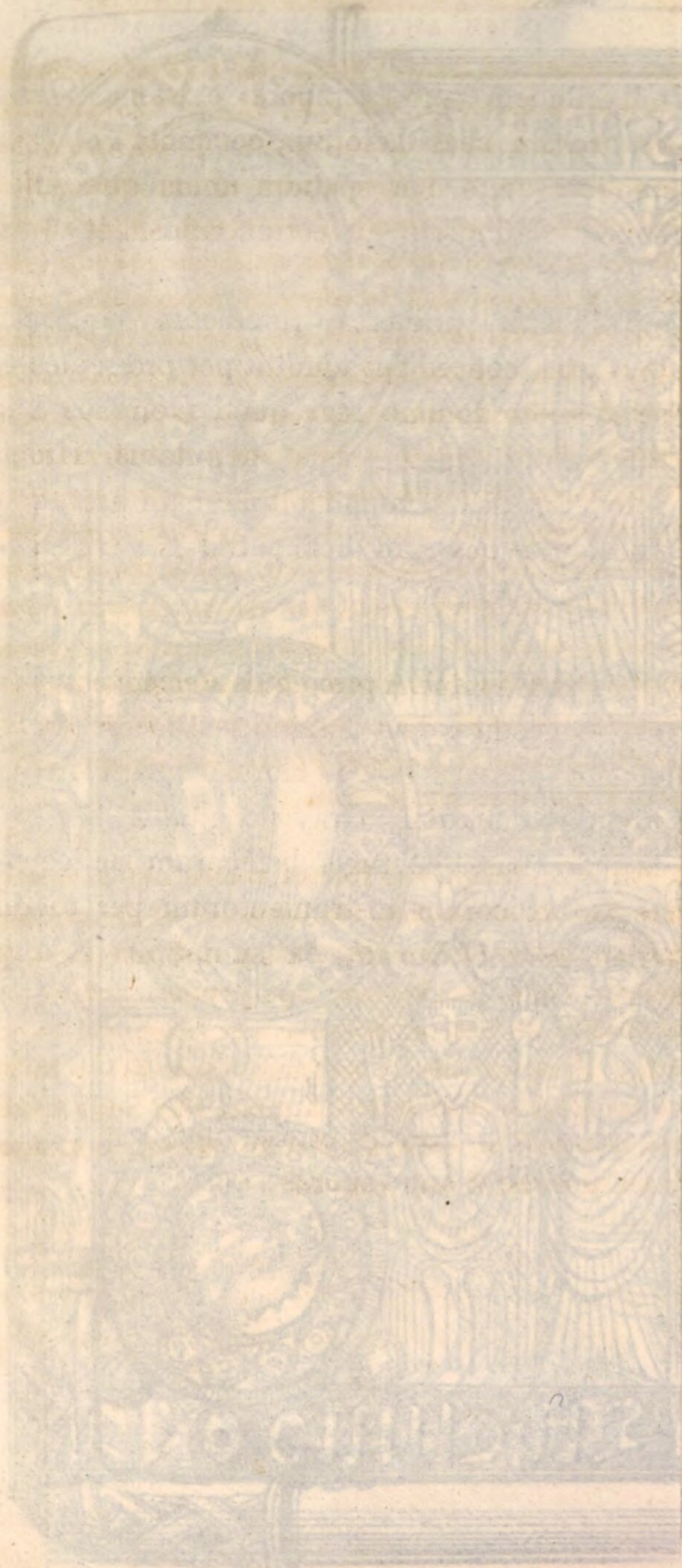
courses hereafter, hath done to us and our crowne, since our lieutenant received him unto our mercy many good and acceptable services, and now lately for true declaration of his loyal heart; the said Rorie hath dutifully presented himself before our royal person, humbly beseeching our princely favour, that we would vouchsafe to grant unto him and his heirs, our territories and countries of Tyrconnell, in Ulster; the which his late brother (though unworthy) and his father and ancestors had for many years past, and have ever in all former rebellion of the O'Neills, lived as loyal subjects to our crowne, till his unhappy brother first stained the reputation of their unspotted name; upon this, and many the like suits, we have resolved to manifest to all our subjects of that our realm; that out of our princely disposition, we desire their dutiful loyalty and obedient hearts than in any degree increase of revenue or profit by their defection, where there appeared signs and undoubted expectation of sound loyalty hereafter. And therefore, our pleasure is, and do will and require you, that you cause our lettres patents, under the great seal of that our realm, to be made and passed in due form of law, containing our effectual grant to the said Rorie O'Donell, and the heirs males of his body, with remainders of like estate successively to Caffery O'Donell, brother to the said Rorie, and to his cousin, Donell oge mac Donell O'Donell, of all our territories and countries of Tیرهconnell, with all the islands, rights, dainaries, advousons, fishings, duties, and other hereditaments whatsoever, of ancient time, justly belonging to the lord thereof, (excepting to us our heirs and successors, all abbys, priories, and other spiritual living) reserving also to us our heirs and successors, such and the same rent and beeves services, rising out, and duties as the father of Rorie, or any of his ancestors, lords, or possessors of the country, yielded, or ought to have yielded, to our late dear sister the queen, by tenor of any lettres patent or com-

position, with any of his ancestors in the late Queen's time, and recorded in the council book or in any of our courts at Dublin, incerting in the said lettres patent such further reservations, exceptions, and covenants, for the benefit our service as you shall find requisite, and included in any former lettres patent or composition with the lords or chieftains of O'Donnells country; in which our grant, we require you to reserve to us and our heirs, the castle, town, and lands of Balleshenan, and one thousand acres of land thereunto next about the castle adjoining, with the fishings there; and reserving to us during our pleasure, liberty to erect forts which we or our heirs shall think expedient for service of the country; with provisional condition, that the castles, lands, services, rents, and duties, which were in the possession of Sir Neal O'Donell, when he lived under Hugh Roe, late O'Donell, and in amity with him, especially Castlefynen, and all the lands and hereditaments belonging to the same, may be reserved to the free disposition of us and our heirs to bestow upon Sir Neal O'Donell, or such other as may deserve the same, and their heirs: and our pleasure is, that Rorie O'Donell do renounce and relinquish all claims, rights, and duties which he may challenge upon Sir Cahir O'Doghertys country, O'Connor Sligos country, and upon any other subject residing out of the limits of Tyrconnell. And because Rorie O'Donell shall, by this our gracious favour, receive as of our bounty and gift, so large a terretory as a Tireconell, for his inheritance, which may enable him, as our subject, to be in the highest degree of honor; we have thought meet to grace and countenance him with the stile and name of Earl of Tyrconnell, requiring you to grant unto him by lettres patent, the name, stile and honor of Earl of Tyrconell. To have and to hold the same to himself and the heirs males of his body, with remainder of like estate to the said Caffery O'Donell, brother to the said Rorie, and that the eldest sons and heirs

males apparent of the said Rorie and Caffery's bodies, be created lords barons of Donegall, during the lives of the Earls. And our further pleasure is, that the said Rorie shall have a castodiam of all abbeys, priories, and other spiritual livings within the said country of Tyrconell, till we shall be otherwise minded to dispose them, which our princely intention, our pleasure is, shall be effectually accomplished to the said Rorie, for his encouragement to continue in his dutiful loyalty. And these our lettres, notwithstanding any insufficiency of words, or omission necessary to have been inserted herein, for the explaining of our princely favour, shall be as well to you our lieutenant and deputy, now being, or either of you, and to any other deputy or head governor or governors of that our realm, for the time being, and to the chancellor or keeper of our great seal of that Realm likewise for the time being, or to any other officers whom it may appertain sufficient warrant and discharge. Given under our signet at Totenham, the fourth day of September 1603, In the first year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland, the seven and thirtieth.

To our right trusty wel beloved cousin and counsellor, the Earl of Devonshire, our lieutenant of Ireland, and, in his absence, to our right trusty and welbeloved Sir George Carie, knight, our deputy thear, and to our chancellor of that our kingdom now being, and to any other deputy governor or governors, chancellor or keeper of the great seal of our said realm, that hereafter for the time shall be, and to all other our officers and ministers there to whom it may appertain.

PL 19



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THE MEESHAC.

When this valuable and venerable relick came into my hands, it had all the appearance of having long been in a damp place, or buried in the earth. The rich tracery work of the settings, and the chased silver plating, were not perceptible, from the thick coating which covered its surface. The plates being very thin, it required great care and attention to remove its impurities without injury. On discovering the date of *anno domini ccccciii.*, I could scarcely credit the accuracy of my vision, especially as I had been taught to believe, dating by the Christian era, had not been used at so early a period in this country. After an accurate investigation, I feel perfectly satisfied, the date is genuine ; nor does it require any great exertion of faith, if we consider, that Christianity, and consequent civilization had existed in Ireland, for centuries before ; the claim of the Irish to such a state, having been clearly established, by unquestionable evidence, these remains, powerfully corroborate that testimony.

The name *Meesnac*, which Vallancey says this box bore, may possibly be a corruption of

two Irish words, *mion*, a jewel, and *yo*, this; which last being pronounced *sho*, the two together would in familiar speech sound *Mionsho*, and would mean *this jewell*, or *precious jem*, and might, by those who are unacquainted with the Irish language, be taken for and spelled *Meesha*. Mr. O'Reilly, in answer to my queries, says, "I can scarcely venture a conjecture on the word *Meesha*, which general Vallancey, says, was the name of the box in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Barnard. It certainly is not Irish, although I have no doubt that the true word sounded something like *Meesha*. It might be derived from the word *mish*, an altar, compounded with some other word, which may have expressed the use of the box; it was evidently intended to contain copies, or portions, of the scripture, and to stand upon the altar."

Vallancey, in the fourth volume of the *Collectanea*, No. XIII., page 11, says:—

"Mr. O'Donnell, of the barony of Innishowen, informs me, there was in the hands of the Rev. Mr. Barnard, of Fahan, a precious box, set with stones, called in Irish *Meesha*, a word supposed to be Hebrew, and to signify a vow. This is ornamented with a crucifix and the twelve apostles, &c."

Plate IX. is an accurate delineation of the top of the *Meeshac*, somewhat reduced in size.

The twelve figures, which have been mistaken for the apostles, are on four plates of silver, each containing three figures, and are repetitions of each other. The centre is a standing figure representing a bearded bishop or priest, with apparently the tonsure, or a bald head, holding in his hand a crozier, and his left hand held up, as in the benediction; but there is this remarkable difference, that the third and fourth fingers are not bent down, (so as to make the first and second fingers and the thumb represent the trinity,) but the whole palm and hand are exhibited—the thumb is, however, placed on the wrong side of the hand. On his breast is a figure of the cross, apparently part of his vestment, the collar of which stands up on each side of his face; his robe hangs in folds in front over his gown. The head or crook of his crozier appears as if ornamented or set with stones. The figure on the right is of a female, in a flowing robe, treading on a dragon; on her breast is a cross, surrounded with a circle, below which is a figure of an ornamented book, supported by her left hand; in her right hand she holds a staff, on the top of which is a cross. The figure on the left is a priest, in a sitting posture, with a cap on his head, shaped

like a mitre, a cross on his breast, holding in his right hand a staff, with a cross at the top, and his left hand elevated as the centre figure, his legs, from his knees, appear supporting the folds of his garments. Over him are two human faces, one on each side his cap.

At the top, in the middle, is a figure of our Saviour, in brass, plated with silver, as in the crucifixion, but without a cross, fixed by pins through the hands and feet to the box. On each side is a sitting figure of the Virgin, under a canopy, wearing a three-pointed crown, holding the infant Jesus in her lap; on the swaddling clothes is a figure of a triangle, and on his head a three-pointed crown, surmounted with a cross. The right hand of the virgin is elevated, and the left arm surrounds the child.

There are eight settings of polished egg-shaped rock chrystal, the largest in the centre, one at each corner, one on each side, and one at the bottom; each of the corner settings and that in the middle had round it small settings of lapis lazuli, and other stones.

Above and below the two side chrystals are small silver plates, with a figure of a bearded man, his right hand extended, and his left

across him—perhaps they are intended to represent the four Evangelists.

On plates of silver at the top and bottom, engraved in relief, is the following inscription:—

Brian mac brian muir̄ m̄a do cumdaig
me 4° d°n̄j cccccjij. m̄j——

Brian, the son of Brian of the sea-shore of Moy, covered me Anno Domini 503, in the month of ——

It reads from the top, and the word do has the d on the upper, and the o on the lower plate.

The box is ten inches long by nine broad, and three inches thick; from each side is a kind of staple, on which is a ring, with a swivel, from which is a brass chain three feet long, which, I suppose, may have been used to suspend the box at the altar, or round the neck of the priest.

The sides of this box are brass plates, and have been inlaid with silver, and enamelled, very similar to the *Caah*. The bottom is also

of brass, gilt, cut into crosses exactly similar to the *Caah* in pattern.

The *Meesnac* was made after the same manner as Dimma's Box: a vacancy was left on one of the sides for the insertion of the MS. it, no doubt, once contained.

It appears that this box, like the *Caah* and *Corp nua*, has been held in such veneration, that it was closed up, and its contents kept a holy secret, under penalty of incurring some severe punishment; for when it came into the hands of those, who had more curiosity than veneration for it as a religious or historical relic, it was very injudiciously and violently opened, much injured, and possibly its contents demolished.

The wooden case, of which these plates are but the external covers, was cut from a solid piece of yew, and hollowed out so as to form a case for a book, open on one side, like that of a folded map; the back of which was not less than an inch and half thick, and harder than any wood I ever saw. The open side had been filled up with a piece of oak, and the whole closed up with a brass plate, like that which covered the other side. Those who at-

tempted to ascertain its contents, unfortunately commenced their operations at the back, and after breaking the brass plate across, they, by chissels, or some instrument of that kind, cut away the box, and broke it to pieces in such a manner, that I found it impossible to restore it. Very long brass pins had been driven in to secure the plates which must have perforated the MS.

The workmanship of the settings is remarkably good, and I think they are more modern than the plates of the figures, which they partly hide; indeed, the plates cover the box, and form a whole without the settings. The same remark is applicable to the Caah, and to Dimma's box.

Under the centre setting, was a small square piece of vellum, on which was a seal of wax, but so flattened, as to obliterate the impression, if ever there were any on it.

I have not been able to ascertain who this Brian the son of Brian was, but the sea-shore of Moy, is the north coast of the county of Mayo, and was the country of the O'Dowds; nor am I able to throw any light on the history of the Meeshac, or the circumstances by which it came into

the hands of Dr. Barnard, late bishop of Limerick. It was sold with his library after his death, and thus came into the hands of the late Mr. Valence, the bookseller, and from him to Mr. Jones, from whom I purchased it.

THE GERALDINE KNIGHTS.

That the reader may form a correct idea of the descent of the Geraldine Knights, I shall first give a brief sketch of the early pedigree of the Fitzgerald family, which spread itself into several main branches, from each of which sprung scions so great and numerous, as to be designated in the antient records, *the nations of the Geraldines*.

The industrious and indefatigable Mr. Lodge, as well as other writers of the Geraldine story, make it a perfect jumble, by attributing the acts of many individuals to one person, or confusing the history of one branch, with that of another. Mr. Lodge was an accurate writer, on those periods of history of which the records were in his own custody in the rolls office; (of which he made an admirable and well digested abstract, with excellent indexes,) but it does not appear that he ever examined the rolls in Birmingham Tower, (of which also he had the custody) except the patent rolls, and consequently was under the necessity of availing himself of the in-

correct and confused accounts of preceding historians. In the pedigrees, almost without exception, given in his peerage, of the antient Anglo-Hiberno families, of Fitzgerald, Nugent, Dillon, Barry, Birmingham, De Courcy, Butler, St. Laurence, Netterville, Bellew, &c. &c. the early parts are almost altogether erroneous and unintelligible.

These families are striking examples of the truth, that the human race will increase in proportion as the means are possessed for their support. The Butlers, Fitzgeralds, Barrys, Roches, Nagles, Condons, &c., of Munster; the Burkes, Birminghams, Joyces, &c. of Connaught; and the Birminghams, Barnwalls, Plunkets, Harolds, Archbolds, &c. of Leinster, increased in proportion to the extent of territory they respectively possessed; some of them under the Kildares, Desmonds, Ormonds, Mac Williams, Clanrickards, &c. were able to muster thousands of their name, and to take the field with armies, much too powerful for the safety of the English government; to which, during the reign of the Lancastrian kings, they paid but an uncertain and doubtful allegiance, and were often indebted to the inability of the English government to resist them, for being invested with the power of

the king's sword. But to return to the Geraldines.

They are descended from Gerald de Windsor, constable of Pembroke, and governor of South Wales, by Nesta, daughter of Rhys, prince of South Wales, by whom he had three sons, William, ancestor to the lords Gerard, of England, and the earls of Kerry, now Marquess of Landsdown, Maurice Fitzgerald, hereafter mentioned, and David, who was bishop of St. Davids.

Maurice Fitzgerald, the second son, was one of the gallant heroes who accompanied Richard Strongbow, earl of Strigul, to Ireland, in 1168; he died in the year 1177, and was buried in the abbey of Grey Friars, at Wexford. He had five sons, 1 Gerald; 2 Thomas; 3 Alexander; 4 Maurice; 5 Walter; and a daughter, Nesta, who was the wife of Hervy de Montmorency, or de Monte Marisco, constable of Ireland. This Hervey, is called by historians, de Montemarisco, but he signs his name to a grant to the abbey of St. Thomas, the martyr of Dublin, *Herveius de Munmarenci*. He was brother to Jordan de Montmorency, or de Marisco, lord of Huntspil, a branch of the illustrious house of Montmorency, of

France, who settled in England, in the reign of Edward the Confessor. Of Alexander, Maurice, and Walter, the three younger sons, nothing further is known. As my object is merely to give a brief sketch of the pedigree, I shall not enter into the detail of family biography.

Gerald Fitz Maurice, the eldest son of Maurice, was lord justiciary of Ireland, and possessed the manors of Cromyth,* Athdare, Athlekagh, Castle Rodberd, Estgrene, and Green, in the county of Limerick. He married Catherine, daughter of Hamo de Valoines, a noble Norman, by whom he had Gerald, who died unmarried, and

Maurice Fitzgerald, founder of the Abbey of Sligo, and lord justice of Ireland. He also founded the monastery of Youghal, in 1231, and acquired all the great wealth and possessions of the family in Leinster, by his marriage with Agnes, daughter and sole heir of William de Valencia, earl of Pembroke, lord of Offaley, Geshil, Maynooth, Rathmore, Ley, Rathmegan, Kilcock, and Rathbride,

* Cromyth, alias Crom Costle, from which the Irish motto of the earls of Kildare of "*Crom a boo*," or *Crom buagh*, i. e. *Victory for the garrison of Crom*.

in right of his wife Joane, daughter and sole heir of Warren, lord Montchensy, by Joan, lady of Offaley, sister and coheir of Anselm Marshall, earl of Pembroke, son of William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, by Isabella, daughter and sole heir of Richard de Clare, commonly called Strongbow, by Eva his wife, only daughter and sole heir of Dermot Macmurrough, king of Leinster.* This Maurice was the first baron of Offaley, of the Fitzgerald family. By Agnes de Valencia, he had several sons. He died in 1257.

Thomas Fitz Maurice, the second lord of Offaley, died 26th March, 1260, leaving

John Fitz Thomas, third lord of Offaley, who was created earl of the county of Kildare, by patent, dated 14 May, 1316, to him and the heirs male of his body; as such heir male, his Grace Augustus-Frederick, Duke of Lein-

* His Grace the Duke of Leinster, therefore, holds his lands in Leinster, as co-parcener of the antient kingdom of Leinster, being one of the coheirs of Dermot Macmurrough, last king of Leinster, and of earl Strongbow. It is very extraordinary that this circumstance should have escaped Mr. Lodge's observation, especially as he put forth the history of this family as a *specimen* of his intended peerage.

ster, is the twenty-second earl of Kildare. From this earl descended most of the respectable families of the Fitzgeralds of Leinster.

The house of Desmond, descended from Thomas, second son of Maurice Fitzgerald, before mentioned, who came to Ireland with Strongbow. This Thomas Fitz Maurice, married Elinor, daughter of Jordan de Marisco, and niece of Hervey de Montemarisco, before mentioned, by whom he had

John Fitz Thomas, founder of the abbey of Tralee, who acquired the lands and lordships of Decies, and Desmond,* by marriage with Margery, daughter and sole heir of Thomas Fitz-Anthony, lord of Decies, and Desmond, and was slain 1260, he was the father of

Maurice Fitz John, second lord of Decies and Desmond, who was slain with his father, in 1260; he married Joan, daughter of John, lord Cogan, by whom he had

Thomas Fitz Maurice, commonly called

* They were confirmed to him by king Henry the third, by patent, dated in 1259, in the 44th year of his reign, in as ample a manner as they had been held by Thomas Fitz Anthony, his father-in-law, from king John.

Nappagh, or the Ape, third lord of Decies and Desmond, who married Margaret, daughter of Walter de Burgo, son of Walter, earl of Ulster. He was summoned to parliament, in 1295, and accounted for 500 marks, the rent of his land in Decies, 18 Edw. I., 1290, and dying before 1299, was succeeded by his son,

Maurice Fitz Thomas, fourth lord of Decies and Desmond, who was created earl of Desmond, and lord of the palatine regalties, of the county of Kerry, by patent, dated 27 August, 1329. This Maurice, and John, who was created earl of Kildare, in 1316, because they were both the sons of a Thomas, and consequently in those days were called Fitz Thomas, have been named as brothers, by Mr. Lodge, and others, an error which any one might fall into, in the absence of positive evidence to the contrary. The truth is, that Thomas, the great-great-grandfather of the first earl of Desmond, was brother to Gerald the great-grand-father of the first earl of Kildare.

The supporters of the house of Kildare, were originally *two lions*, but, from the odd way of sketching or painting them, have been mistaken for *monkies*, an error which has been perpetuated, and established. It is remark-

able also, that the story of the ape conveying the child to the top of the castle, from which the earls of Kildare *are said to have taken their crest, of a monkey*, was told of *one of the Desmond family*, viz., Thomas Nappagh, or *the ape*, third lord of Desmond. The truth is, that the crest was also originally *a lion passant*, but ignorantly changed to a monkey, from the same cause as the supporters, added to the tradition alluded to, but which was not at all applicable to any one of the Kildare family.

I shall not attempt to give a history, or connected pedigree, of the Geraldine families, which would swell the article to a great length ; but merely a short explanatory account of their anomalous titles or dignities, commonly called the *White Knight*, the *Knight of Kerry*, and the *Knight of Glynn*, or the *Valley*.

The peculiarity of these titles, their acknowledged antiquity, combined with the elevated situation of the persons who enjoy them, together with their total dissimilitude from any distinguishing appellation of honour existing in England, have frequently excited attention and curiosity in no small degree. In the ob-

scurity which hangs over their origin, they resemble those singular Milesian *cognomina*, or *soubriquets*, which, in a few families, have descended to the present day, as in the instance of *O'Conor Don*, *Mac Dermot Roe*, and and some others, and, in fact, so antient are these Geraldine titles, that their very possessors are actually unacquainted with the nature or origin of their own dignities. The Earl of Kingston is representative of the family of Fitzgibbon, the *White Knight*; John Fitzgerald, Esq. the *Knight of Glynn*; and the Honourable Maurice Fitzgerald, the *Knight of Kerry*.

It has been asserted that these Knights were descended from illegitimate children of an earl of Desmond; and it is found so stated in pedigrees bearing the very respectable name (whether truly or not I cannot say) of Sir George Carew, afterwards Lord Totness, lord president of Munster, and lord deputy of Ireland, in the reign of Elizabeth. But this statement must be erroneous, for I find the Knight of Glynn mentioned on the records, before the date of the creation of the earldom in 1329.

According to several antient Irish MSS. in

my possession, and others, which I have consulted, the true history of the descent of these knights is as hereafter stated. I must also add, that the antient records of the kingdom, the patent, plea, and pipe rolls, strongly corroborate the statement of the Irish MSS.

John Fitz Thomas, first lord of Decies and Desmond before-mentioned, married to his second wife, Honora, daughter of Phelim O'Connor Kerry, by whom he had four sons :

1. Gilbert, from whom descended the *White Knight*;

2. John, ancestor to the *Knight of Glynn*;

3. Maurice, from whom the *Knight of Kerry* descended ; and

4. Thomas, ancestor to the Fitzgeralds of the island of Kerry.

THE WHITE KNIGHT.

To Gilbert Fitz John, the eldest of these sons, his father gave the manors of Castleton and Mitchelstown, in the county of Cork ; and

other large possessions. His son Maurice was called Fitz Gibbon, *i. e.* son of Gilbert, as were his descendants; by the Irish they were called *Clan Gibbon*, the tribe of Gibbon; and by the Hiberno-Normans, *Fitzgibbon*.—This Gilbert was of *fair hair and complexion*, and being knighted, was called the *white knight*, and by the Irish *Ryther a fin*. His eldest male descendants were constantly denominated by that title until the time of Queen Elizabeth, when John Oge Fitzgibbon, the then white knight, who had taken an active part in the rebellion of his kinsman the earl of Desmond, was attainted by Act of Parliament, after his death, by the name of John Fitzgerald, the *White Knight*, or *Johne oge Fitz John, knight, Fitzgibbon*. This attainder was afterwards reversed by royal pardon, 27th Jan. 1560, and his son Edmond Fitzgibbon, the *White Knight*, had a grant of all his father's possessions, by patent, dated 9th Aug. 1590. He had three sons, Maurice, his heir, John and Edmond; the two latter died unmarried.

Maurice Fitzgibbon succeeded his father, and, having married Joan, daughter of James, Lord Dunboyne, had a son Maurice, who succeeded him, but died without issue, and a daughter, Margaret, who inherited the vast

possessions of the family. This lady became the wife of Sir William Fenton, knight, by whom she had two sons; Sir William, who died without issue, and Sir Maurice, whose only son, Sir William, dying without issue, was succeeded in his estates by his aunt Katharine, only daughter of Sir William Fenton, by Margaret Fitzgibbon; she became the wife of Sir John King, knight, afterwards baron Kingston, whose great-grand-daughter was sole heiress of the family, and the wife of Richard Fitzgerald, of Mount Ophaly, in Kildare, Esq. by whom she had one only daughter and heiress, Caroline, who was married to Robert, Earl of Kingston, whose eldest son and heir Robert, Earl of Kingston, is now possessor of this estate, and representative of the family of the White Knights. There are, however, male branches of this antient family still in existence, bearing the name of Fitzgibbon, and others that of Fitzgerald. There was a branch settled at Castle Com, in the county of Cork, from whom is descended the Right Hon. James Fitzgerald, late prime serjeant of Ireland.

KNIGHT OF GLYNN, OR THE VALLEY.

Sir John Fitz John, the second son of the Lord of Decies and Desmond, had a grant

of the castles and manors of Glyncorbery and Beagh, in the county of Limerick. He and his descendants are styled in the antient records *Johannes filius Johannis del Glynn, miles*, and *Thomas fitz Johannis del Glyncorbry, miles*; and this before the creation of the earldom of Desmond. His descendant *Thomas Fitzgerald, knight of the valley, otherwise knight of Glynn*, was attainted for rebellion, by Act of Parliament in the 11th year of Queen Elizabeth; but his grandson, Edmond Fitzgerald, was pardoned and restored to his estates 25th Nov. 1603. The estate and title descended to John Frauncis Fitzgerald, the present *knight of the Glynn*.

KNIGHT OF KERRY.

To Sir Maurice Fitz John, third son of the Lord of Desmond and Decies, by his second wife, Honora O'Connor, his father gave the lordship of Inismore, in the county of Kerry, with other ample possessions. He was styled *the Black Knight*, from his complexion, and the *Knight of Kerry* from his possessions. The former title was seldom used; but his eldest male descendant has invariably borne the title of *Knight of Kerry*. The Right Honourable Maurice Fitzgerald, M. P. for the county of

Kerry, is the undoubted eldest male descendant of this antient family.

It has been generally supposed, that these were titles granted by the earls of Desmond, as palatine earls of the county of Kerry, but this is not possible, for two of them, the White Knight, and the Knight of Glynn, are not *within his palatine jurisdiction*; besides they existed in the reign of king Henry the third, one hundred years before the creation of the earldom in 1329, in the great uncles of the first of earl Desmond.

In those early times all persons, who held by knights' service, a quantity of land, called a *knights fee*, and upwards, were compellable to take knighthood, under penalty of a fine; and there are many entries on the rolls, to shew that it was often imposed *quia nondum miles*; in fact all persons of high rank, took the honour, and a nobleman who was not a knight, was always styled esquire, "John Nugent, esq. *baron of Delvin, &c. &c.*" From all these circumstances, and from the frequency of the heads of the noble Geraldines, filling the situation of viceroy, they would naturally keep up, and support the dignity of the branches of their own families; and the heads of the branches

being always *knights*, and themselves being Geraldines, and often of the same surname, it became necessary for distinction, to designate them by particular appellations, which soon became familiar, and fixed as their surnames, until their origin was forgotten.

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ANTIENT LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

Recognizance of Mac Coghlan, chief of his nation.

Ma.—That at Phellepstown the 2 of June 1571, theer came before us Henry Cooley,* senshall of the King's Countie, and Robert Cooley, Esquiere, Justice of the Peace in her heighnes' Countye; Shane Mc. Coghlane, cheffe of his nation, Cair Mc Fin, of Balleboye, and Cormoke boye Mc Coghlen, and their knowledged them selves to owe unto o'r Sov'aing Ladie the Queene, the some of toe hundreth pounds, monie of Ireland, that ys, to wite, one Hundreth Pounds upon Mc Coghlane, and Fyfty pounds upon ether of the others, yf, &c.

The conditione of this Recognisans is sooche, that, yf the above bownden Shane Mc Coghlene do make his personall apparans, and also bring in hes sone Arte, at the next cession, to be holden in Phellepstowne, before the senshall, and other justyces of assice, and not to dep't without lycens. Then this present recognisans to be voyd, and of none effect; or elles to stand in ful strengthe and vertwe.

Shane Mc ✕ Coghlen's m^rke.

Caire mke ✕ Fynes, m^rk.

Cormoke Boye ✕ Mc Coghlines, m^rk.

Signed and deliveried to her Hyghnes use.

• Paternal Ancestor to His Excellency Richard, Marquess Wellesley, K. G. &c.

The O'Rourkes were a distinguished Irish sept, possessors of the territory of I Brien Brefney, part of the counties of Cavan and Leitrim. The writer of the following letter, Brien O'Rourke, was the chief of this family. He gave the English government no small disturbance during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was the O'Rourke mentioned in the memoir of O'Donell, page 150. He submitted and entered into a treaty with Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy, in 1578, which is still extant on record. He afterwards joined O'Donell in rebellion, and being taken, was sent prisoner to England, where he was executed in 1591. The Irish chiefs, not understanding the English language, their correspondence with the English was carried on in Latin.

*Letter from Brian O'Rourke to the lord president of Connaught.**

Dilectissimo meo amico gubernatore Conacia hæ Literæ traderetur, cum charite non fictu, ubique erit.

I. H. S.

Salutatione premissa; Accepi literas tuas, charissime amice, xs Aprilis cum summa reverentia qua decet. Scias me iturum esse ad conspectum domini deputati, ultimo die Aprilis, Dupliniam† versus, (Christe favente) et nunc profecturus essem in tuo connatu, nisi defectus pecuniarum nobis contingit, quia in terris nostris, non existit. Igitur hortor te, quando ibis Dupliniam versus, habere me excusatus cum Domino Deputato, sine dilacione, tibi dedam meipsum in eternam pro tuo beneplacito; te transiente Duplineam versus, dic Theobaldo Dillon et Roberto Nugent, manere mecum donec proficiscar ad conspectum vestrum ultimo Aprilis, aliud etiam ostendo tibi

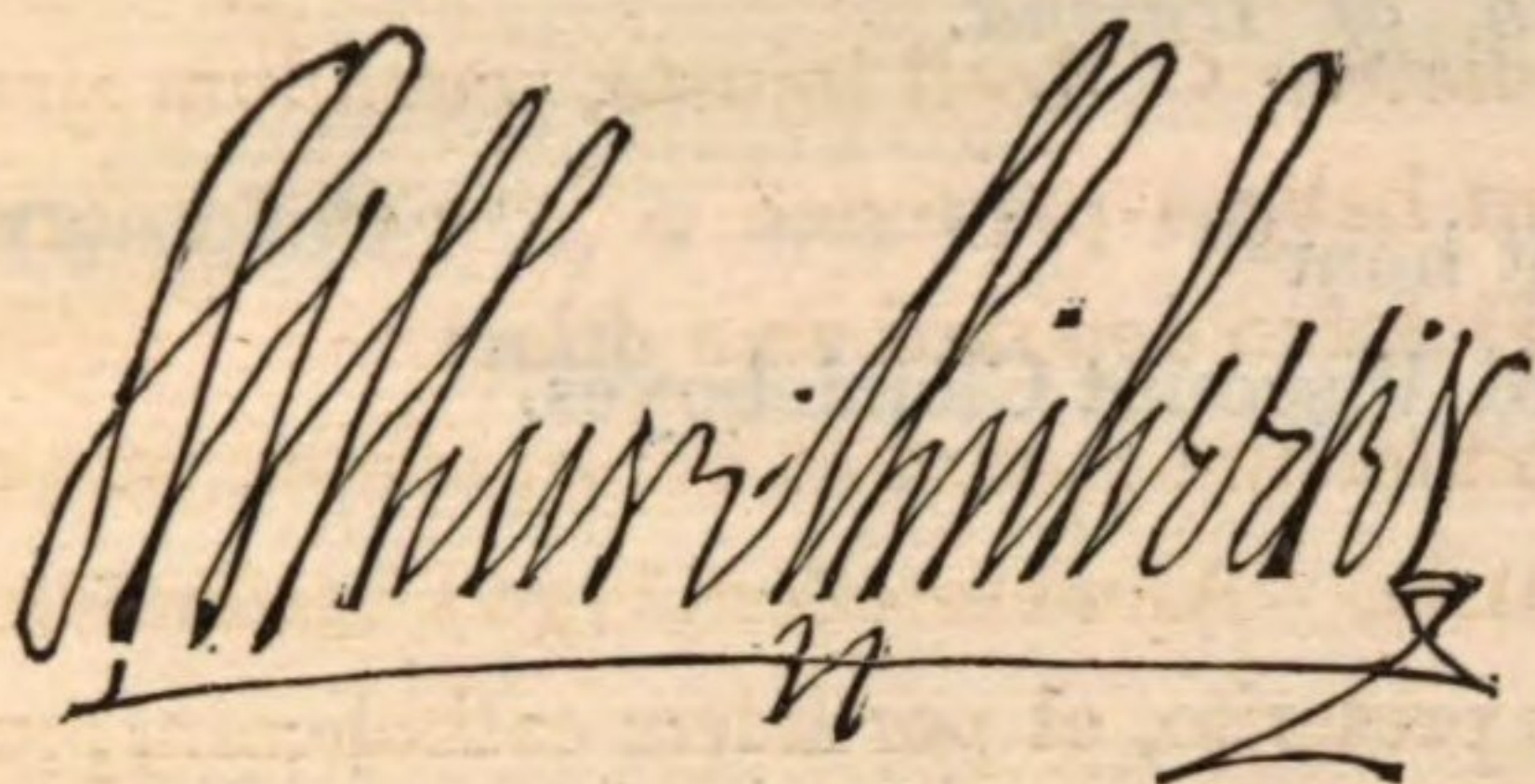
* Sir Richard Bingham ancestor to the earl of Lucan.

† Dublin.

ex parte amicitiae mee, ut benefacias Bernardo filio Hugonis filii Fergali I Reel, qui tecum ibit ad conspectum Domini Deputati, in hoc tempore; scire debes quod Henricus diuque obsebat Bernardum predictum O'Reell injuste, secundum ejus verba. Ideo queso te ut habeas pardonem animae et corporis Bernardo O'Reell, a Domino deputati sine dilacione. Scias ipsum Bernardum esse amicum meum et coloctanium, et est generosus vir in sua patria. Aliud intellexi erga Capitaneum Mordaunt, in autumnno preterito, et per fidem catholicam, pro parte redditus regiae majestatis, receperunt a me duodecem vacas illas tunc temporis, et si eos ducerem in patriam meam capitaneo et suis sociis hospicium darem; si Dominus O'Concobair Slygo, duxit Capitaneum Mordaut in suam patriam, pro suo beneplacito, ac si vis scripturam illius contractus, Hercule reperies, postremo ostendo tibi quod Philippus Sartoris est in thetraca of Rosocamani, ipso cremante domos cum suppellectibus, meis injuste, medius fidius, si esset sub mea potestate traditurus esset tibi sine mora queso te, humiliter, ut mandas tuis servitoribus capere criminosum ubi eum comprehenderet, non plus, sic valeas ex stangno Rereell xmo Aprilis 1585. Tuus amicus fio post hec scripta responsum. Scribe ad me cum Theobaldo Dillon sine dilacione.

B. R. MORDAUT

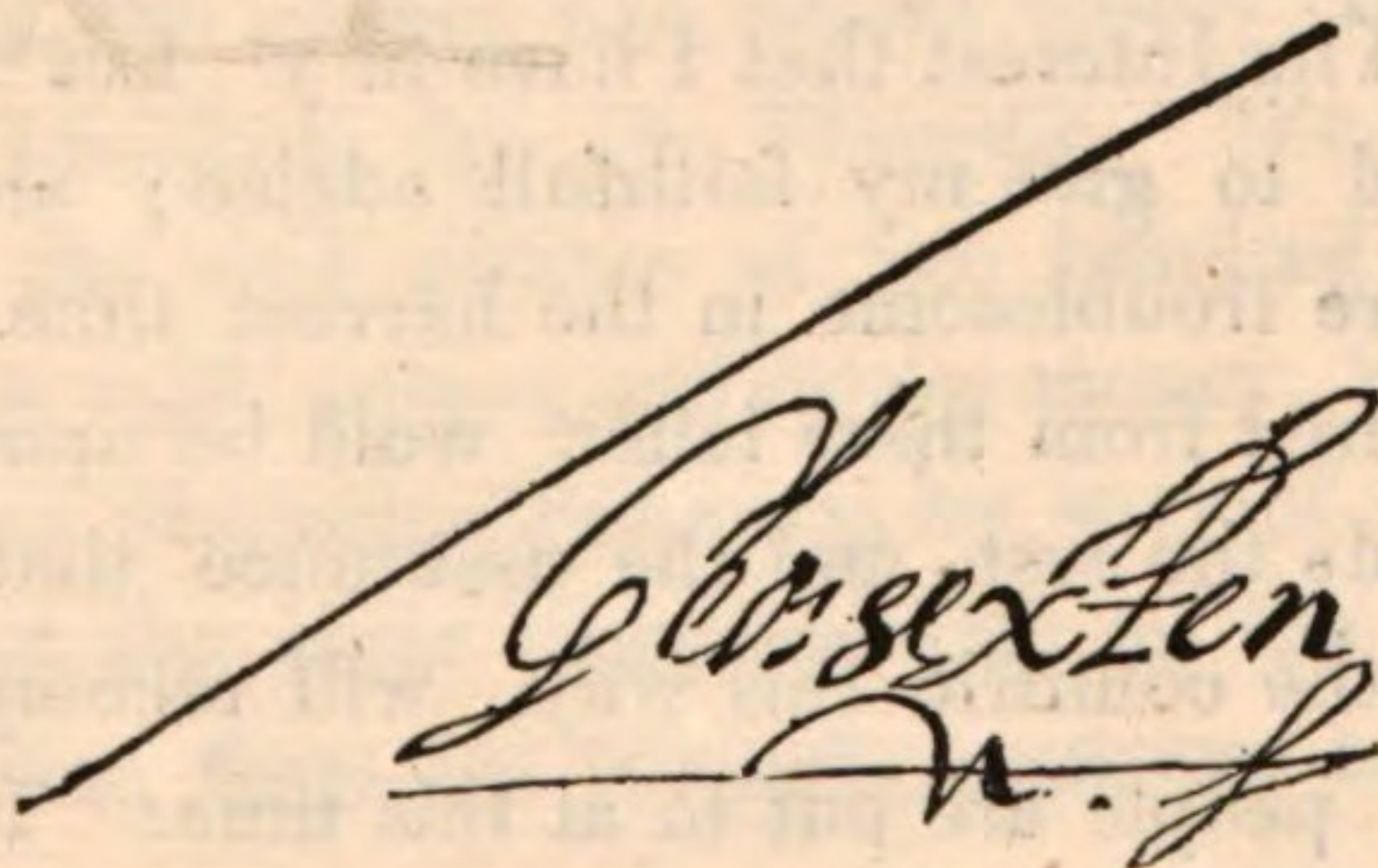
*Order of the Lord Deputy Chichester, ancestor to the
Marquess of Donegal.*



Whereas upon the goinge of y^e Barron of Delvyne out of this Castle, we have for some considerations, us then movinge, caused bonds to be taken for the fourthcoming and other conditions, as weare thought meete, upon Mathew and James Ashpoole, and other their sureties; and forasmuch as since that tyme his Maj^{tie}. hath received y^e said Barron to his gracious favor, and pardoned the y^e said parties, we think fitt—the said bonds should be cancelled, and be of noe more force. These are therefore to pray and require yo^r Lords^{ps} to take notice thereof, and to cancell y^e said bonde accordinglie, ya^t y^e parties may receave no prejudice by the same. In doinge whereof yis shall be yo^r Warrant.

Geven at his Maj^{ts} Castle of Dublin yis 14th of July, 1609.

*To o^r, very good Lo. y^e Lo. Chancellor of
Ireland, and to y^e Lo. cheefe Justice or anie
other before whome y^e said bondes weare taken.*



Sir George Sexton, was Secretary of state.

*Letter from the Earl of Leven General of the Scottish
army in the north of Ireland.*

To the Right hon^{ble}

My Lord Viscount Clandeboy.

My Lord,

As I purpose God willing, on mondaie next, to marche towards the enemie, who is entrenching himself neere Tonregee, to stop o^r passage. So least he should shift himself out off my way, and wee have occasion to goe further in the country, I doe wish that all the places wee leave behinde o^r hand, may be upon there garde, and secure themselfs from any inroads, while we are absent. And therefor, because y^r Lo^p and my Lord Airds are most lyable to this danger, It is my advice, and I have written to my Lord Airds to the same effect, that p^{nt} ord^r be given be you bothe, that all men, that are able to carrye armes come together to to the most fitt places in the ffrontiers, and there continew in armes for y^e defence off your country, so long as o^r party is abroad; and the souldie^{rs} that stay behinde in there q^{rs} shall have order from me to doe the like, whosoever amongst y^r people that refuses to goe out with the rest, let theme answeare for it upon there owne perrill.

The Interest that I have in y^r Lo^p's safetie makes me this bold to give my faithfull advice; and, although it be the more troublesome in the harvest time, yet all that can be spaired from there labor^s wold be upon there garde, to defende the rest, and the assurance that will come to y^e rest of the countrie this way, will recompence all the trouble yo^r people are put to at this time. They will not have the

like occasion again this season, and that it may prove so it shall be the study and endeavor off

Yo^r Lo^p's most affec^{on}at

Frend and Servant,

Carrickfargus, 7 bris 17,
1642.

Lowen

Copy of a Debenture for £280, copper and brass money, issued to Captain Edward Butler, of Bansagh, in Tipperary, by order of King James the Second, now in the possession of Murrough O'Brien Butler, Esq. heir to Captain Edward Butler, of Bansagh.

Treasury Chamber, the 2d of
March, 1690.

Whereas, it appears by the receipt of Francis Rice and Peter Manby, Esqrs. Commissioners of his Majesty's Mint in Lymerick, bearing date the eight day of January, in the yeare of our Ld. one thousand six hundred and ninety, and produced to us; that Captaine Edward Butler paid to them, by way of loane to his Majestie, the summe of two hundred and eighty pounds, of the copper and brasse money, lately made currant in this kingdom, by his Majestie. We doe hereby certify, that the said summe of two hundred and eighty pounds, of the said copper and brasse money, is accordingly paid into his Majesties Treasury, by way of loan, as aforesaid, and that the same remaines due to the said Captain Edward Butler, from his Majestie, pursuant to the

several proclamations formerly issued for encouraging persons to lend the said brass money.

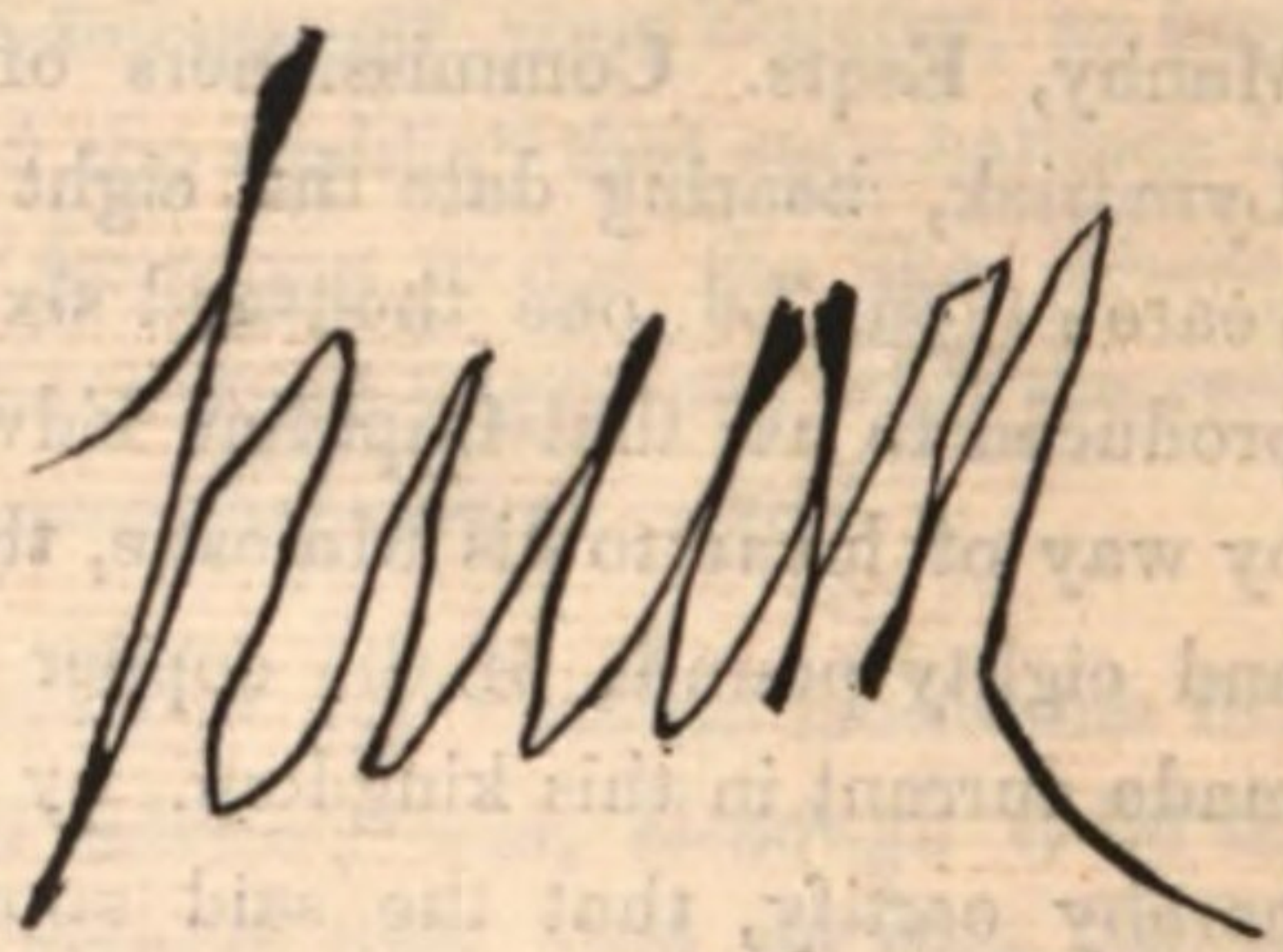
FITZWILLIAM.
RIVERSTONE.
STEPHEN RICE.

THEOBALD BUTLER.

Pass signed by Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, general of King James the Second's army, and governor of Limerick at the time of the capitulation.

You are hereby required to permit Major Patrick Allen, with his wife and family, together with there goods, buniart, horses, and arms, to pass out of the gates of this garrison without any lett hindrance or molastacon. In order to his gooinge to his home in Leinster, to enjoy his estate pursuant to the cappittulation and articles made hereine.

Lymbrick, dat. this seventh day of
October. 1691.



several of the same kind were found in the same place.

THEY WERE FOUND IN THE RIVER.

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They were found by the river, and were found in the same place.

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Betham, William

Irish antiquarian Researches

Bd.: 1. 1826. - 242 S., 9 Taf. 2. 1827. - S. 243 - 442, 3 Taf., LV S.

Dublin 1827

4 H.eccl. 103 m-1

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